

REPORT ON PARTICIPATION  
IN THE  
COORDINATED INVESTIGATION OF MICRONESIAN  
ANTHROPOLOGY

Manuscript copy; being revised for publication.

Submitted by:

Paul L. Garvin  
Participant in CIMA

## CONTENTS

Acknowledgements	1
Introduction	3
Part One: Outline of Ponapean Grammar	
I. Phonemics	5
II. Morphophonemics	18
III. Morpheme Distribution: Word, Phrase, Sentence	36
IV. Morphology: Verb Suffixes	43
V. Morphology: Noun Suffixes	54
VI. Morphology: Person Markers	59
VII. Morphology: Themes	79
VIII. Morphology: Classifiers, Numerals, Demonstratives	95
IX. Phraseology: Standard Phrase Types	120
X. Phraseology: Copula Phrases	132
XI. Phraseology: Hypotactic Phrases	136
XII. Syntax: Standard Sentence Types	140
XIII. Compounding	145
Appendix to Part I	150
Part Two: Ponapean Conversational Texts	
Introduction	153
Conversation I	155
Free Translation	164
Conversation II	168
Free Translation	182
Conversation III	189
Free Translation	249



#### ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This report on the language of Ponape, Eastern Caroline Islands, was prepared as a result of participation in the Coordinated Investigation of Micronesian Anthropology, organized by the Pacific Science Board of the National Research Council, and made possible by the cooperation - including the loan of equipment - of the U.S. Navy. This investigator's part in the project was sponsored by the Department of Anthropology of Indiana University.

A large number of Ponapean informants unselfishly gave their time and services, among these were Joseph Iriarti and Andreas Weilbacher of Nett, Petren of Kitti, Jacobus of Jokaj, and William Helgenberger of Matalanim Districts on Ponape. All of these deserve my gratitude for making this study possible. My thanks go also to Professor C. F. Voegelin of Indiana University who arranged for my participation in CIMA and supervised my work on behalf of Indiana University, and to Professor George P. Murdock of Yale University for safely guiding us CIMA participants to our destinations, as well as to the Washington and Honolulu offices of the Pacific Science Board of the National Research Council for the expert handling of the many details of preparation and briefing. Also, to all the officers and men of the U.S. Navy with whom I had the pleasure of being in contact, for their invaluable help in reaching my destination and getting located there, as well as for their courteous and cooperative attitude in all their dealings with CIMA.

Likewise, to my colleagues in the field S. H. Riesenbergr of the University of California, and R. I. Murrill of Columbia University, for their assistance in my field research by many helpful hints as to recording opportunities, as well as to Professors George Herzog and Janos Lotz of Columbia University, for their many valuable suggestions to my analysis. Finally, to the University of Oklahoma for making available to me the time and facilities needed to complete this report.

Paul L. Garvin  
Department of Anthropology  
University of Oklahoma

## INTRODUCTION

Ponapean is spoken by all of the approximately 5000 Micronesian inhabitants of the island of Ponape in the Senyavin group of the Eastern Carolines, including outislanders and their descendants on the island. The island's five native districts, Matolenihm, Uh, Net, Sokehs, and Kiti, can roughly be divided into two principal dialect areas: the main dialect (M), spoken in the districts of Matolenihm, Uh, Net, and Sokehs, and the Kiti dialect (K), spoken in the district of the same name. Neither of the two dialects has recognizably higher prestige than the other; on the contrary, district rivalry finds its expression in loyalty to the home dialect as well.

Dialects differ in the number of vowel phonemes: the sounds  $\epsilon$  and  $e$  which are two separate phonemes in the main dialect, are but allophones of the same phoneme in the Kiti dialect. More noticeable still is the difference in phoneme distribution (cf. Part I, 1.4.1.); it is indeed the feature of which both natives and non-native visitors are most conscious.

Outside of Ponape, the islands of Mokil, Pingelap, and Ngatik, have languages very similar to Ponapean - they may possibly be considered Ponapean dialects; but research on these does not fall within the scope of the present study.

Data were collected by taking wire recordings of Ponapean songs and chants, narratives, conversations, and the results of thematic apperception tests given to Ponapean speakers, and by transcribing the recordings with the help of native informants. In all, approximately 15 hours of recordings were taken. Transcriptions were later

repeatedly checked against the recordings. In the beginning of field research, data on the language were obtained by direct questioning of informants as well, without the use of recordings.

## PART ONE: OUTLINE OF PONAPEAN GRAMMAR

### I. Phonemics

1. 1. The main dialect of Ponapean has 7 determinate syllabic vowels: a, ɔ, ɛ, o, e, u, i; one indeterminate syllabic vowel: e; and two nonsyllabic vowels (semivowels): w, y. The Kiti dialect has 6 determinate syllabic vowels: a, ɔ, o, e, u, i; one indeterminate syllabic vowel: e; and two nonsyllabic vowels (semivowels): w, y. The difference in the number of vowel phonemes is due to the fact that the phones [e] and [ɛ] in the Kiti dialect are in complementary distribution, whereas in the main dialect they may contrast with each other.

In both dialects, all the determinate syllabic vowels have the additional prosodic feature of quantity; they occur as phonemically either short or long. Hence, in the main dialect 7 long determinate syllabic vowels have to be added: a', ɔ', ɛ', o', e', u', i'; and in the Kiti dialect 6: a', ɔ', o', e', u', i'.

The contrast of ɔ and o in both dialects, and of ɛ

and e in the main dialect, is evident from the following minimum pairs: lok lock - lok punishment, so'ŋ manner - so'ŋ measure, M séysey rowing - séysey haircut.

Contrasts in phonemic quantity appear in the following minimum pairs: sápal walk - sápa'l repeat, pwoŋ a. one - pwo'ŋ pot. can, mo there - mo' ahead, M sére cut - sé're take along, mu'rr later - murr just. but, pi'l also - pi'l water.

Both dialects have the following ten consonants: p, t, ʈ (retroflex), k, m, n, ŋ, s, r, l. The contrast of t and ʈ is shown by the minimum pair tí'ti female breast - ʈí'ʈi thin. lean.

There is one case of neutralization: in both dialects, the contrast of o and ɔ is neutralized before w - the diphthongs ow and ɔw are in free variation, with ow the preferred variant in the main dialect, and ɔw in the Kiti dialect: powt ~ powt spouse. Neutralization does, however, not take place in the same manner in the triphthongs wow, yow, where only those forms are found.

All other contrasts are preserved in all other positions.

1. 2. The matrix of phoneme distribution in Pona-pean is the stress group, bounded by pauses on both sides, and containing one or more words, each consisting of one or more morphemes. Each stress group contains one main stress and often in addition one or two secondary stresses. Both main and secondary stresses are phonemic, though no minimum pairs based on stress were found.



Stress grouping may vary from utterance to utterance, although certain patterns are preferred; the individual stress groups thus form part of *la parole*, whereas stress grouping as a matrix of phoneme distribution is a phenomenon of *la langue*. Thus, both M kílél'én è·u'penéyney (with two stress groups) and M kílél'én'è·u'penéyney (with only one stress group) picture of a family may occur in different utterances, even of the same speaker. Often, though, stress groups that are identical with words and phrases are preferred (cf. also 3. 0. 1.).

Likewise, the relative positions of main stress and secondary stress (if both are present) in otherwise identical stress groups may often vary from utterance to utterance: both M penéyney'wèt and M penèyney'wét this family were found.

On the other hand, stress - whether main or secondary - usually occupies the same place within the word, as in M penéyney family, though occasionally deviations from the norm such as peneynéy'wét this family are also found.

Both final and secondary stress involve increased intensity of not only the stressed vowel, but the preceding consonant as well. To achieve this intensification, the intensity of the immediately pre-tonic phonemes is markedly decreased, to the extent of occasionally approaching zero. The result is in many cases a slight acoustic pause preceding non-initial stress, and marking its onset: pil'miya'me/pwágata·r there are



also some who are tired. This pause at stress onset is particularly noticeable when it falls between two non-geminate, non-homorganic consonants: M y<sup>ˆ</sup>ap/zé·se, K y<sup>ˆ</sup>ap/sá·sa but I don't know.

1. 3. There is some free and positional variation in both vowels and consonants. In the back and mid low vowel ranges there is somewhat more variation in the main dialect, in the mid high range, positional variation is very marked in the Kiti dialect (see 1. 1.); other vowels, as well as all consonants, have identical allophones in both dialects.

a and a· are in the main dialect pronounced at a somewhat raised point of articulation; a is fronted to [æ] in the diphthong ay, a· to [æ·] in final position: kak [kak] can, sa·p [sa·p] land, iráyl [iræyl] they, pa· [pæ·] below.

In the Kiti dialect, a and a· are pronounced pretty far down in all positions: ʔa [ʔa] only, sá·sa [sá·sa] don't know.

o and o· are open mid back vowels in both dialects in all positions, o and o· closed mid back vowels: tóto·k work, mómwot sitting.

In the main dialect, ε, ε· and e, e· contrast as open and closed mid front vowels in all positions: kéle·p self, set seawater, me·<sup>ˆ</sup>n one of, belonging to.

In the Kiti dialect, the only mid front vowel phoneme has a closed allophone [e] before y and w, an open

allophone [ɛ] in all other positions; long e· is always actualized as [ɛ·] : wey [wey] district, ú·ṭʰiyèw [ú·ṭʰi/yèw] a banana, séri [séri] child, mé·lel [mé·lel] truth.

The low back vowels u, u· have in both dialects but one allophone each: M púre·ŋ, K púra·ŋ again, ú·ta·n certainly.

The high front vowel i has a centralized allophone [ɪ] adjacent to a labial and retroflex ṭ and in the diphthong wi after a labial, a non-centralized allophone [i] elsewhere: lípuk [lípuk] cut, M píryen, K píryan [píryen, píryan] brother, friend, ṭikiṭík [ṭikiṭík] small, ṭípwisow [ṭíp<sup>w</sup>isow] thing, kómwi [kóm<sup>w</sup>i] you (hon.), íra [M íra, K íra] they (dual), míya [M míya, K míya] there is.

High front i· is non-centralized in all positions in both dialects: i· he, pwi·k pig, pi·l water, ki·s octopus.

e is an indeterminate centralized vowel in all positions in both dialects: puréto come back, pwáreto appear, nek can. In the main dialect, it is often found in one of the alternants of a morpheme, where the other alternant has another vowel: pérren ~ pérren joy, kemé·la ~ kamé·la kill.

w and y are considered nonsyllabic vowels and treated in conjunction with other vowels because: (1) they are acoustically similar to syllabic u, u· and i, i·, but of consonant length (no mora) rather than vowel length (one or two morae); (2) they may replace corresponding syllabic vowels in certain morpheme alternations: i ~ y in M

i<sup>ˈ</sup>sé·se, K i<sup>ˈ</sup>sá·sa I don't know; M y<sup>ˈ</sup>ap<sup>ˈ</sup>sé·se, K y<sup>ˈ</sup>ap<sup>ˈ</sup>sá·sa but I don't know; u ~ w in é·u one, tó·l<sup>ˈ</sup>ew a hill; o· ~ w in ó·-la break, M ka-w-é·-la, K ka-w-é·-la destroy; (3) w-initial diphthongs M we, K we and wi, after p, m, are in sloppy speech replaced by u; w-final diphthong ew alternates with u· in some cases: M pwekí<sup>ˈ</sup>ta, K pwekí<sup>ˈ</sup>ta ~ pukí<sup>ˈ</sup>ta why, pwílitak ~ púlitak aborigine, mwirri ~ múrri behind; léwkowk ~ lú·kowk fine-mesh fishnet; (4) the triphthong yey is in both dialects found in alternation with i· in some examples: ko·yéyla ~ ko·í·la go out there. For convenience sake, however, non-syllabic vowels will here be referred to as semi-vowels.

The semivowel w has in both dialects reduced allophones after consonants and as the final part of diphthongs and triphthongs, fully articulated allophones in other positions: M mpwer, K mpwer [mp<sup>w</sup>ɛɾ] twin, twofold, mmwarr [M m·waɾ·, M m·<sup>w</sup>ɛɾ·] title, sów<sup>ˈ</sup>n<sup>ˈ</sup>pàta·k [M só<sup>w</sup>n/pàta·k, K só<sup>w</sup>npàtɛ·k] preacher, teacher, wiya [M wiya, K wiya] make, do.

Nonsyllabic y has unreduced allophones in all positions in both dialects: M ryémen, K ryáman two, yey here, M mweyn, K mwayn perhaps.

The stops p, t, ɬ, k are unvoiced lenis and articulated at bilabial, dental, post-alveolar, and velar points of articulation respectively.

t and ɬ have free variants with fricative release [t̪̥̃], [ɬ̪̥̃], which are more frequent in final position: powt [powt̪̥̃] spouse, M metɬ, K metɬ [metɬ̪̥̃] here.

p and k are stop throughout in all positions: pi·r fly,  
káwa olden times.

The spirant s has free variants of various degrees of palatalization, ranging from [s] to [š] : M sé·se, K sá·sa [sé·še, šá·šá] don't know. Some Kiti speakers occasionally use a palatalized affricate [č] in initial position before short vowel, but this variant is considered an affectation by most speakers on the island: sóka·s [čókα·ś] Sokehs.

Nasals m, n, ŋ, are produced at bilabial, dental, and velar points of articulation respectively : ma·y breadfruit, na·s feast house, ŋi·l voice.

In the cluster ns, both phonemes are always palatalized to [ɲś] : kens [keɲś] ulcer.

The lateral l is frequently palatalized in intervocalic position: samwalá·r [sam<sup>w</sup>alʲá·r] went away, kó·la [kó·lʲa] go away.

r is a multi-flap trill [ɾ] : séri [M séɾi, K séɾi] child, M nekíyer, K nekíyer [nekíyeɾ] finished.

1. 4. ~~~~~ Ponapean phoneme distribution is characterized by the frequency of vowel groupings and the restricted nature of consonant clusters.

1. 4. 1. ~~~~~ o· and e in both dialects, o in the main dialect, have limited distribution: e is found in the main dialect in medial and final positions only, in the Kiti dialect in medial position only; o· is found in both dialects in initial and medial positions only; o is found in



the main dialect in initial and medial positions only. All other vowels are found in initial, medial, and final positions in both dialects.

Examples are: a - álim five, wása place; a' - a'l road, sa'l rope, ma' age; o - ópwoť one, K mwóŋo eat; o' - o's ivory-nut leaf, ko'l grass skirt; o - ónopata prepare, start, pópwiti fall down, kó'to come; o' - o'l man, so'p ship, so' no, not; M e - ériŋ hair oil, métek ache, tú'ke wood, tree; M e' - e'k ten, mé'la die, pe' hand; M e - ésil three, set seawater, nál'le in the pool; M e' - é'sel donkey, me'^n one of, belonging to, le' pool; K e - ékis one, a bit, séri child, me is; K e' - é'rala'r stopped, ké'layl strong, ne' foot; u - únsak entire, púťak boy, sílu three; u' - ú'ta'n certainly, mu'rr later, nà'n'ú' Nahnuh (place name); i - íluk wave, límaw five, páli part, side; i' - i's who, ŋi's chant, ni' coconut tree; w - wa'r canoe, áwa hour, túwaw nine; y - yaŋ with, ŋíya'k custom, ákey some.

a, a', and o are found more frequently in Kiti dialect forms, e, e', e, and e more frequently in the main dialect. The reason this difference in distribution is that many main dialect forms containing e, e, and e have Kiti cognates containing a', and many main dialect forms containing e' have Kiti cognates containing a'; likewise, many main dialect forms containing e have Kiti cognates containing o: M képir, K kápir kaepir (a dance form), M séwese, K sáwasa help, M sé'se, K sá'sa don't know, M wérek, K wórok friend, wife (hon.).

Vowel groupings are composed of either two syllabic vowels - vowel clusters, or a syllabic vowel with one ad-

ja cent semivowel - diphthongs, or a syllabic vowel with two adjacent semivowels - triphthongs.

Any of the syllabic vowels a, a', K ɔ, o, ɔ', M ɛ, M ɛ', M e, M e', K e, K e', u, u', i, i', M e, followed by any of the syllabic vowels a, a', ɔ, ɔ', o, o', M ɛ, M ɛ', M e, M e', K e, K e', u, u', i, i', may form a vowel cluster, although not all of the possible clusters are equally frequent.

Among the most typical vowel clusters are: M aɛ, K aa - M a'émén, K a'áman and one, e'u - sé'u sugar cane, M ea, K ea - M me'aràyl'nó.no, K me'aràyl'nó.no what their mother (did), M ɛɛ, K ee - M tà'me'e'wiyawiya, K tà'me'e'wiyawiya what she does, M ei, K ei - M ì'me'i'lémelémé, K ì'me'i'lámalama this is what I think, M ɛ·u, K a·u - M ké·u, K ká·u mast, ii - M i'íték, K i'ítak I ask, ii' - M i'ì·lakilán I ordered, ia - àwiáwi waiting, M i·ɛ, K i·e - M ì'en'ú·t'iyèw, K ì'en'ú·t'iyèw a bunch of bananas, iɔ - ni'oró·r at the shore, o·i' - ko·í·la go out there.

The semivowel in diphthongs either precedes the syllabic vowel - rising diphthongs, or follows it - falling diphthongs.

w-initial rising diphthongs are wa, wa', wɔ, wɔ', wo, wo', M wɛ, M wɛ', K we, K we', wu, wi, wi'. They occur initially and after both vowels and consonants: wása place, wá·to bring, ópwɔt one, M lipwó·re, K lipwó·re scold, pwi'·n'wol male company, mómwo·t sit, M túwe, K túwe so, like, M kawé·la, K kawé·la destroy, wúnwun wring out (kava), wísik burden, pwi·k pig.

y-initial rising diphthongs are ya, ya', yɔ, yo, M ye,

M ye·, M ye, K ye, K ye·. They occur initially after both vowels and consonants: míya there is, wiyá·ta make, kis·ín·yon wind, yo there, M yet here, M kame·yé·la kill me, M mályel headache, K mwáwye best, K kàsowmwawiyé·ta make me sick.

w-final falling diphthongs are aw, a·w, ow ~ ɔw (see 1. 1.), ew. They are found finally and before semivowel or consonant: lawt large, sa·w back, sowwas ~ sowwas noon, kítew (name of plant).

y-final falling diphthongs are ay, a·y, M ey, M ɛ·y, K ey, K e·y, oy, uy, ey. They are found finally and before semivowel or consonant: iráyl they, M má·y·wet, K má·y·wet this breadfruit, M séysey row, M ne·y, K ne·y my foot, M séysey haircut, K mé·təykan the others, kosoy story, kakáyruyr be on the lookout, akéy some.

Diphthongs contrast with corresponding vowel clusters in identical positions: M y·ap·sé·se, K y·ap·sá·sa but I don't know - i·apwá·pwali I take care of; má·ykan breadfruits, mà·i·kó·la if I go.

Triphthongs are way, M way, M wey, K wey, waw, wow, yey, yaw, yow, yew. They occur initially, medially, and finally, before and/or after consonants and semivowels and after syllabic vowels: M ɔl·en·wáy, K ɔl·en·wáy foreigner, M pwáyta succeed, M wey district, K weyrata dig up (yam), túwaw nine, ay·wówwa my carrying, yey here (voici), ríyaw two, yow tasty, ú·t·iyèw a banana.

Geminate semivowels are found when final semivowel of falling diphthong or triphthong is followed by ident-



ical initial semiwovel of ensuing rising diphthong or triphthong, as in M péwwe, K péwwe above, M pwéy<sup>h</sup>yaŋ, K pwéy<sup>h</sup>yaŋ marry (lit.: succeed with).

1. 4. 2. ~~~~~ Single consonants p, t, t̚, k, m, n, ŋ, s, r, l, occur initially, medially, and finally: pi·l water, kópow basket, sa·p land; tótó·k work, M súwet, K súwet bad; tákay stone, pá·t̚ow sad, púkaŋ these; kúpur mind (hon.), líki outside, íluk wave; ma·s formerly, áramas person, mwa·m fish; nó·no mother, ra·n day; ŋowl ten, líŋan beautiful, roŋ hear; sílu three, kí·saŋ take, receive, sówmas honor; rapá·ki seek, M ká·re·ta, K ká·re·ta cause, oró·r shore; líyol lightening, electricity, kílaŋ see, ápwal difficult.

Geminate consonants are tt̚, ss, mm, nn, rr, ll. All of these occur medially; mm is also found initially, rr also finally: paŋt̚t̚érek nearby, íssow seven, M límman, K límman five, mmus vomit, M pérren ~ pérren, K pérren joy, murr just, but, M álle, K álle get, receive.

Consonant clusters are of two types: one type of clusters consisting of a nasal followed by homorganic stop or spirant - homorganic clusters - occurs in initial and/or final position as well as medial, the other type consisting of any other two non-identical consonants - non-homorganic clusters - occurs mostly in medial position: some non-homorganic clusters consisting of stop followed by lateral have been found in initial position as well, but only one example is native, others are loans;

other non-homorganic clusters occur in medial position only. Three-consonant clusters - consisting of a homorganic cluster followed by a lateral - have been found in loans only.

Homorganic clusters are mp, nt, nt̚, ŋk, and ns. All nasal-stop clusters occur in initial, medial, and final positions, nasal-spirant cluster ns occurs in medial and final only: ntá·to tell me, mwó·nti sit down, pwant late; ntá·y my blood, tontol black, ma·nt̚ Mant (place name); M mpwer, K mpwer twin, twofold, pámpap be swimming, emp (name of a creeper); ŋkápwano the previous time, putáŋko the boys, ləŋk fear (hon.); sánsal seem, kens ulcer.

Stop-lateral clusters are kr, kl, pr, pl; the native example has kr in initial position, in the loan forms, very often a vowel - i, u, or e - is inserted between the two consonants: krown (a district title); kri·s ~ kirí·s grease, kla·s ~ kilá·s glass, pris ~ purís bridge, playk ~ piláyk flag.

Other non-homorganic clusters include: kp - M lùku-lukpórər leaned over, ks - t̚íksaŋ smaller, lk - píl·kin·míya there also usually are, lm - mélmel typhoon, lp - M lólpenə, K lólpena mutual love, lr - M ol·ryémenəŋ, K ol·ryámanəŋ these two men, lt̚ - M ol̚t̚éyət̚, K ol̚t̚éyət̚ the other man, mk - pwe·i·láməlam·kaŋí·wo because I think it is naughty, nk - ná·nken (executive chief of district), nm - M pit̚én·məŋ, K pit̚én·məŋ hair, np - pó·npəy Ponape, ŋm - M mórŋmetək headache, ŋn - sáŋ·nan out of, ŋr - M réŋrən,

K róꝛꝛꝛꝛ warm oneself, ɲs - sáꝛsáꝛ weep, ps - líkópsir  
flycatcher (bird), pt - M sò·p<sup>ˆ</sup>te<sup>ˆ</sup>tá<sup>ˆ</sup>koꝛ ship or what  
was it, pꝛ - M à·p<sup>ˆ</sup>te<sup>ˆ</sup>osáta but just grew, rk - solá·r<sup>ˆ</sup>kak  
can no more, rl - pí·rla fly there, rm - Mawà·r<sup>ˆ</sup>me<sup>ˆ</sup>pwárata  
canoe which appeared, rp - wá·r<sup>ˆ</sup>pwoto that canoe, rs -  
pípí·rseli be flying about, rt - pí·rto fly here, sk -  
M kàskasí·nen, K kàskasí·nen be standing up, sl - lú·sla  
lose, sm - M àramas<sup>ˆ</sup>me<sup>ˆ</sup>ése, K àramas<sup>ˆ</sup>me<sup>ˆ</sup>ása a person who  
knows, sp - àramas<sup>ˆ</sup>púkaꝛ these people, tk - pòwtkinú·k  
marry you, tm - M è<sup>ˆ</sup>·pówt<sup>ˆ</sup>mèt his wife here, ts - M suwétsáꝛ,  
K suwétsáꝛ worse, tꝛ - ú·t<sup>ˆ</sup>kéy some bananas, tꝛm - M tá<sup>ˆ</sup>·koꝛ<sup>ˆ</sup>mè,  
K tá<sup>ˆ</sup>·koꝛ<sup>ˆ</sup>mè what is this?, tꝛp - M mèt<sup>ˆ</sup>pil<sup>ˆ</sup>é·u, K mèt<sup>ˆ</sup>pil<sup>ˆ</sup>é·u  
here is another one, tꝛs - kòm<sup>ˆ</sup>kaꝛsáꝛ<sup>ˆ</sup>ya where did you (hon.)  
come from?, tꝛt - káꝛto came (hon.).

Three-consonant clusters are very infrequent; most often, as in stop-lateral clusters, a vowel is inserted between the homorganic cluster and the ensuing lateral: npr - po<sup>ˆ</sup>·n<sup>ˆ</sup>prís ~ po<sup>ˆ</sup>·n<sup>ˆ</sup>purís on the bridge.

Other non-homorganic clusters as well are often found alternating with forms in which a vowel - i, u, or e - is inserted between the two consonants: mélmel ~ mélimel typhoon, M réꝛꝛꝛꝛ ~ réꝛꝛꝛꝛꝛꝛ warm oneself, M kàskasí·nen ~ kàsikasí·nen be standing up, pòwtkinú·k ~ pòwtikinú·k marry you, kòm<sup>ˆ</sup>kaꝛsáꝛ<sup>ˆ</sup>ya ~ kòm<sup>ˆ</sup>kaꝛisáꝛ<sup>ˆ</sup>ya where did you (hon.) come from?, káꝛto ~ káꝛito came (hon.).

## II. Morphophonemics

2.0. In this chapter will be discussed the phonemic shape of morphemes not in sandhi (since sandhi entails special cases of phoneme distribution within the morpheme), and variations in the phonemic shape of morphemes. The latter may be contingent on sandhi, stress, position within the word, and juncture. Here, only the types of variations will be discussed; detailed variations of individual morphemes will be discussed in the ensuing sections on morphology (chapters IV - VIII). Often, several types of variations affect the same morpheme or group of morphemes; separate treatment of morpheme variation types and individual morpheme alternants facilitates the listing and description of both.

2.1. Phonemic Shape of Morphemes not in Sandhi. The phonemic minimum of a Ponapean morpheme consists of a vocalic nucleus formed by a single short or long vowel, or a single diphthong or triphthong: i I, o' and, ay my, wa carry, wey district. Many morphemes include, in addition to the vocalic nucleus, an initial and/or final consonantal margin, formed by a single or geminate consonant, or a homorganic cluster: so' no, not, mmwarr title, nta blood, a'p but, ant (name of an island), kens ulcer.

Morphemes with two or more vocalic nuclei have either a rising diphthong or triphthong as their last nucleus, or any type of last nucleus, but preceded by a consonantal



margin, and in both cases often followed by one; preceding nuclei either contain semivowels at points of contact, or are separated by consonantal margins; the first nucleus is often preceded by a consonantal margin: míya there is, wíya make, kíyey my, ínta say, M álle, K álle get, receive, M éysek, K éysak ten, M táke, K táke ride on, go by, kílaŋ look, see, M ménseŋ, K ménseŋ morning, sapwíllim (honorific morpheme), wówwa carries.

The phonemic shape of morphemes not in sandhi can be summarized in the formula:

$$\pm(\pm C, V), \pm(\pm C, V), \pm C, V, \pm C,$$

where V stands for any vocalic nucleus possible in that position, C for any consonantal margin.

2.2. Phonemic Shape of Morphemes and Morpheme Boundaries. The types of phoneme groupings found within stress groups (cf. 1.4.1., 1.4.2.) are not identical with those found within morphemes. This leads to the conclusion that phoneme groupings found within stress groups, but not within morphemes - vowel clusters and non-homorganic consonant clusters, of necessity belong to two morphemes, and hence are definite signals of morpheme boundary. Only in a few loans, and in one, very rare, native example, have non-homorganic clusters been found within the same morpheme: sraŋk ~ siráŋk cupboard, M esmemer-áta (possibly es-memer-áta?) exhale (hon.); but - mà'i'kílaŋ if I see, sáŋ'nan from within.

Not every morpheme boundary, on the other hand, is signaled by a vowel cluster or non-homorganic conson-

ant cluster: phoneme groupings possible within morphemes may occur at morpheme boundaries as well.

### 2. 3. Morpheme Variations Contingent on Sandhi.

Variations in the phonemic shape of morphemes may be conditioned by sandhi in only one of the contiguous morphemes - unilateral sandhi, or in both - bilateral sandhi. Occasionally, two separate unilateral sandhi processes occur at the same point of sandhi - double unilateral sandhi.

Thus, in unilateral sandhi, morpheme M inen straight has a sandhi alternant before morpheme -la there: M inél-la went straight; in bilateral sandhi, both morpheme M me (copula) and morpheme M en (hypotactic particle) share a sandhi alternant at the point of contact: me·n (this could as easily be transcribed m<sup>h</sup>e·n, cf.

2. 3. 2.) one of, belonging to; in double unilateral sandhi, both morpheme sa·p land, and morpheme -ka (plural marker) each have their separate sandhi alternant at the point of contact: sá·pw-aka countries - these two sandhi alternants occur independently of each other, as in sá·pw-o that land, ó·l-aka men.

In cases of sandhi, then, as can be seen above, one or both of the contiguous morphemes have a sandhi alternant, or share a sandhi alternant, distinct in phonemic shape from the base alternant. In discussing sandhi alternations, variations due to other factors will be ignored.

2. 3. 1. Unilateral Sandhi Variations. These may affect the contiguous phoneme of either of the two morphemes in sandhi; they are called morpheme-initial if they affect the initial phoneme of the second morpheme, morpheme-final if they affect the final phoneme of the first.

2. 3. 1. 1. Morpheme-Initial Variations. These may affect initial vowels as well as consonants of morphemes in sandhi. The most common cases are here listed in the order of their approximate frequency.

Case 1. A number of consonant-initial morphemes have sandhi alternants with prosthetic vowel after certain consonant- and semivowel-final morphemes: -ta ~ -ata up, as in kó·-ta went up, but - kilaŋ-áta looked up, kàsawiy-áta find out; -ti ~ -iti down, as in mwó·n-ti sit down, but - lípuk-iti cut downward; -saŋ ~ M -ésaŋ from, as in kéy-saŋ go away!, but - M sipet-ésaŋ sweep away.

In some instances, alternants with and without prosthetic vowel vary freely: má·n<sup>h</sup>kéy ~ má·n<sup>h</sup>akey some animals.

Case 2. Some vowel-initial morphemes have sandhi alternants with prosthetic semivowel after vowel-final (and sometimes even semivowel-final) morphemes: -oŋ ~ (-yoŋ ~ -woŋ), as in M mà·k-oŋ-íye, K mà·k-oŋ-íye forgive me, but - intà·-yoŋ-ú·k ~ intà·-woŋ-ú·k tell you, tú·-woŋ



meet; M -er ~ -yer, K -er ~ -yer already, as in M kilaŋ-er, K kilaŋ-er saw already, but - M mweseli-yer, K mwasal-i-yer left already; M ése, ~ ^yése, K ása ~ ^yása know, as in M iràyl^ése, K iràyl^ása they know, but - M i^yése, K i^yása I know; a'n ~ -ya'n used to, as in M a.ná.n-e, K a.ná.n-e become used to, but - ká-ya'n habit.

Occasionally, the y-initial sandhi alternant of some of these morphemes is in turn preceded by a prosthetic i, to give iy-initial sandhi alternants after some consonant-final morphemes: é·u ~ ^yew ~ ^iyèw one, a, as in sá·pw^è·u a country, but - M pòkon^en^tá·^yew, K pòkon^en^tá·^yew what kind of a meeting?, ú·t^iyèw a banana; a·l ~ ^iyal way, as in á·l^tík footpath, but - M lep^ín^iyal bit of the road, téw^iyal supervise the road. (See also case 3 below.)

Case 3. y-initial morphemes have sandhi alternants with prosthetic i after consonant-final morphemes: M -ye ~ -iye, K -ye ~ -iye me, as in M ka-mé-ye, K ka-mé-ye beat me, but - M kilaŋ-iye, K kilaŋ-iye see me; -yey ~ -iyey out of, as in kó·-yey go out there, but - kak-iyéy-saŋ can get out of there.

Case 4. A few m-initial morphemes double initial m after morpheme ending in short vowel; most of these cases were recorded with the preceding vowel under the stress: M me ~ ^mme, K me ~ ^mme (copula), as in M í·^me, K í·me that's what, but - M nò·nó^mme the mother is; M meṭ ~ mmeṭ, K meṭ ~ mmeṭ here, as in M sò·tə^méṭ, K sò·-tə^méṭ isn't here, but - M í·sò·tə^mí^mmeṭ I wasn't here, sàwa^mmeṭ

taro here, M l·mw·en·yá·mmet̚ where is this house from?;  
 mi ~·mmi be, as in M tà·me·mi·lólé·t̚ what is inside?,  
 but - irá·mmi they (dual) are.

2.3.1.2. Morpheme-Final Variations. These may  
 affect final vowels as well as consonants of morphemes  
 in sandhi. The most common cases are here listed in  
 the order of their approximate frequency.

Case 1. A large number of p- and m-final morphemes  
 have sandhi alternants with epenthetic w before vowel-in-  
 itial morphemes. This case is remarkable because the  
 sandhi form of morphemes affected is of a phonemic shape  
 not found out of sandhi: sa·p ~ sa·pw- land, as in sá·pw-  
 aka-t̚ countries; i·m ~ i·mw- house, as in i·mw·iléyla  
high house.

Morphemes affected by this variation have w-final  
 sandhi alternants also in cases where a vowel is inserted  
 to break up a non-homorganic cluster (cf. 1.4.2.); in  
 these cases the insert vowel is considered part of the  
 sandhi alternant as well: M mè·n·sap·tá·mmet̚ people of  
what land are here?, but with insert vowel - sà·pwe·tá  
what sort of land?; sup stop over has w-final sandhi al-  
 ternant followed by insert vowel in súpwi-la stop over  
there. Forms with insert vowel appear to be preferred  
 where the preceding vocalic nucleus is stressed.

In one case, a sandhi alternant was recorded out  
 of sandhi: li·mw sponge; this form, however, was  
 uttered in contrast with li·m bailer which has no

w-final sandhi alternant, with the deliberate intention of pointing out the contrast - in normal speech, only the sandhi forms of the two morphemes differ, the base alternants are homophonous.

Case 1a. A somewhat similar case obtains in a u-final morpheme which has a w-final sandhi alternant before vowel-initial morphemes: álu walk - M áluw'en'éni, K áluw'en'áni ghost-like walk. In some instances, this variation occurs side by side with bilateral sandhi (cf. 2. 3. 2.): Máluw-éla<sup>2</sup> alú'-la walked there.

Case 2. A number of consonant-final morphemes have sandhi alternants with epenthetic i or e before consonant- and semivowel-initial morphemes. Many l-final morphemes have such alternants before all consonant- and semivowel-initial morphemes: M mwésel, K mwásal leave - M mwéseli-saŋ, K mwásali-saŋ leave from, M mweseli-yer, K mwasali-yer left already; \*pwil start out - pwili-saŋ start out from, pwili-tak aborigine. Morphemes ending in other consonants often take epenthetic sandhi vowel before consonant-initial morphemes to break up non-homorganic clusters, or to prevent contiguity of identical consonants that do not occur in gemination: ɬik small - ɬiki-saŋ smaller; kapáytək listen - kapáyteke<sup>2</sup>kówl listen to a song.

In one instance, sandhi alternants were recorded under the stress, consonant-final alternants in other distributions: M ek one after another - M éki<sup>2</sup>sap one land after another, but - ek<sup>2</sup>sákaw one kava after another.

Case 3. A number of morphemes lengthen final short vowel in sandhi before certain consonant- and semivowel-initial morphemes. In many, but not all, of these cases the final long sandhi vowel is stressed as well: séri child - serí·<sup>ˆ</sup>key some children, but - M tú·kə tree - tú·kə·ka trees, tú·kə·<sup>ˆ</sup>pwoʔ a tree.

Many morphemes with only one vocalic nucleus lengthen and stress final short vowel in sandhi with other morphemes: pa suddenly - pá·<sup>ˆ</sup>pwar suddenly ap-  
peared; ya where - M war·<sup>ˆ</sup>en·yá·<sup>ˆ</sup>pwoʔ·<sup>ˆ</sup>mět, K war·<sup>ˆ</sup>en·  
yá·<sup>ˆ</sup>pwoʔ·<sup>ˆ</sup>mět where is this canoe coming from?, M yá·<sup>ˆ</sup>  
ne·<sup>ˆ</sup>něy·<sup>ˆ</sup>pé·nsəl where are my other pencils?.

In the main dialect, lengthened sandhi ε· is sometimes replaced by e· in assonance with the following vocalic nucleus: M me (copula) - M mé·<sup>ˆ</sup>ʔik the small one, but - M mé·-ʔey-ət̚ (also mé·-ʔey-ət̚) this one (of two).

### 2. 3. 1. 3. Automatic Morpheme-Final Variations.

Whereas unilateral variations listed so far, both morpheme-initial and morpheme-final, affect only certain morphemes in a varying number of cases, assimilation of n to ensuing lateral, and dissimilation of contiguous p, t, k within the same phrase (see chapter IX) occur in all instances where relevant conditions are found.

Assimilation. n-final morphemes have sandhi alternants with assimilated final l or r before l- and r-initial morphemes respectively: nan in - M nál·<sup>ˆ</sup>leŋ, K



nál<sup>ˈ</sup>lɔŋ in the sky, nar<sup>ˈ</sup>rúk on Truk; M en, K en (hypotactic particle) - wasá<sup>ˈ</sup>l<sup>ˈ</sup>lɔl deep place (on a reef), po<sup>ˈ</sup>r<sup>ˈ</sup>reŋí<sup>ˈ</sup>ɬ upon the door, M ʈó<sup>ˈ</sup>l<sup>ˈ</sup>lɔŋ, K ʈó<sup>ˈ</sup>l<sup>ˈ</sup>lɔŋ angel, me<sup>ˈ</sup>r<sup>ˈ</sup>rúk people of Truk; pa<sup>ˈ</sup>n times (numeral) - pà<sup>ˈ</sup>r<sup>ˈ</sup>ryápak twice.

Dissimilation. Morphemes with final p, t, k have sandhi alternants with dissimilated final m, n, ŋ respectively before morphemes in the same phrase with initial consonant identical to their final: so<sup>ˈ</sup>p ship - só<sup>ˈ</sup>mpi<sup>ˈ</sup>r airplane; a<sup>ˈ</sup>p but - à<sup>ˈ</sup>m<sup>ˈ</sup>pwáreto but appeared here; mwo<sup>ˈ</sup>t sit - mwó<sup>ˈ</sup>n-ti sit down; tóto<sup>ˈ</sup>k work - totó<sup>ˈ</sup>ŋki work with, M tòto<sup>ˈ</sup>ŋ<sup>ˈ</sup>ké<sup>ˈ</sup>layl, K tòto<sup>ˈ</sup>ŋ<sup>ˈ</sup>ké<sup>ˈ</sup>layl hard work; fluk wave - llun<sup>ˈ</sup>kaláymun big wave.

If morpheme-final p, t, k, precedes identical morpheme-initial within the same stress group, but at phrase boundary, it is elided: kámatip feast - kàmati<sup>ˈ</sup>pá<sup>ˈ</sup>n wiyáwi a feast will be given. Few instances of this have been found.

2. 3. 2. Bilateral Sandhi Variations. These affect contiguous final and initial vowels respectively of morphemes in sandhi. The two vowels affected are either contracted, or one of them is elided. Contraction usually results in the lengthening of the first of the two contiguous vowels, but in some cases the two adjacent vowels are contracted into a long vowel or diphthong qualitatively different from the two.

2. 3. 2. 1. Contractions. Most of these cases affect vowel-final themes or suffixes followed by

vowel-initial suffixes or the hypotactic particle M en, K -en (see chapter XI). Suffixes involved are verb suffixes (see chapter IV), and personal possessive suffixes (see 6. 3. 3.). The vocalic nucleus resulting from contraction is considered to form part of both contiguous morphemes equally - certainly so if it is a long vowel or diphthong qualitatively different from the two contracted vowels, but for the sake of convenience the morpheme or word boundary is marked after this ambimorphic vocalic nucleus in the transcription used in this study.

Contractions into Lengthened First Vowel.

Case 1. a + a > aː: \*pa- + -ara > pá·-ra below them (d.), \*limwa- + -ara > limwá·-ra next to them (d.).

Case 2. a + M ε, K e > aː: wása + M en, K en > wása·nˆtótó·k place of work, wása + M -et̚, K -et̚ > wása·-t̚ this place; pwán-ata M -er, K -er pwán-ata·-r got tired.

Case 3. a + o > aː: wíya + a -on > wíya·-n do about it, \*pa- + -om > pá·-m below you (sg.).

Case 4. o + o > oː: sámw-oto + -on > M samw-otó·-n-er, K samw-otó·-n-er came here, \*po- + -om > po·-m above you (sg.)

Case 5. o + a > oː: \*mwo- + -amwayl > mwó·-mwayl before you (pl.), \*po- + -at̚ > po·-t̚ above us (excl.).

Case 6. o + M ε, K e > oː: sámw-oto + M -er, K -er > iˆsámw-oto·-r I'm here already.

Case 7. M ε + M ε > M εː; to this case often corre-

sponds  $K a + K a > K a^{\cdot}$ , as well as  $K e + K e > K e^{\cdot}$ :  
 $M \text{ } \text{t}\epsilon$ ,  $K \text{ } \text{t}\alpha + M \text{ } \acute{e}\text{-men}$ ,  $K \text{ } \acute{a}\text{-man} > M \text{ } \text{serip}\acute{a}y\acute{n}^{\cdot}\text{t}\acute{e}^{\cdot}\text{-men}$ ,  $K$   
 $\text{serep}\acute{e}y\acute{n}^{\cdot}\text{t}\acute{a}^{\cdot}\text{-man}$  only one girl,  $M \text{ } \text{l}\acute{o}\epsilon$ ,  $K \text{ } \text{l}\acute{o}\epsilon + M \text{ } \text{-}\epsilon\text{t}$ ,  
 $K \text{ } \text{-}\epsilon\text{t} > M \text{ } \text{l}\acute{o}\epsilon^{\cdot}\text{-t}$ ,  $K \text{ } \text{l}\acute{o}\epsilon^{\cdot}\text{-t}$  inside.

Case 8.  $M \text{ } \epsilon$ ,  $K \text{ } e + o > M \text{ } \epsilon^{\cdot}$ ,  $K \text{ } e^{\cdot}$ :  $M \text{ } \text{k}\acute{o}\epsilon$ ,  $K \text{ } \text{k}\acute{o}\epsilon$   
 $+ \text{-on} > M \text{ } \text{k}\acute{o}\epsilon^{\cdot}\text{-n}$ ,  $K \text{ } \text{k}\acute{o}\epsilon^{\cdot}\text{-n}$  hold on to.

Case 9.  $M \text{ } \epsilon$ ,  $K \text{ } e + a > M \text{ } \epsilon^{\cdot}$ ,  $K \text{ } e^{\cdot}$ :  $M^* \text{ } \text{r}\epsilon\text{-}$ ,  $K^* \text{ } \text{re-}$   
 $+ \text{-arayl} > M \text{ } \text{r}\acute{e}^{\cdot}\text{-rayl}$ ,  $K \text{ } \text{r}\acute{e}^{\cdot}\text{-rayl}$  at their place,  $M$   
 $^* \text{epwe-} + \text{-amwayl} > M \text{ } \text{epw}\acute{e}^{\cdot}\text{-mwayl}$  usual with you (pl.).

Case 10.  $i + M \text{ } \epsilon$ ,  $K \text{ } e > i^{\cdot}$ :  $M \text{ } \text{k}\epsilon y\text{nopwi} + M \text{ } \text{en} >$   
 $\text{k}\epsilon y\text{nopwi}^{\cdot}\text{-n}^{\cdot}\acute{o}^{\cdot}\text{pis}$  official prohibition. This case is not  
 very frequent.

#### Contractions into Qualitatively Different Nucleus.

Case 11.  $M \text{ } \epsilon + M \text{ } \epsilon > M \text{ } e^{\cdot}$ ; to this case corresponds  
 $K \text{ } e + K \text{ } e > K \text{ } e^{\cdot}$ :  $M \text{ } \text{m}\epsilon$ ,  $K \text{ } \text{me} + M \text{ } \text{en}$ ,  $K \text{ } \text{en} > \text{me}^{\cdot}\text{-n}$  one  
of, belonging to,  $M^* \text{ } \text{r}\epsilon^{\cdot}$ ,  $K^* \text{ } \text{re}^{\cdot} + M \text{ } \text{en}$ ,  $K \text{ } \text{en} > \text{r}\acute{e}^{\cdot}\text{-n}^{\cdot}$   
 $\acute{o}^{\cdot}\text{lo}$  at the man's place.

Case 12.  $M \text{ } \epsilon$ ,  $K \text{ } e + o + ew$ :  $M^* \text{ } \text{r}\epsilon\text{-}$ ,  $K^* \text{ } \text{re-} + \text{-om}$   
 $> \text{rew-m}$  at your (sg.) place,  $M^* \text{ } \text{epwe-} + \text{-om} > M \text{ } \text{epwew-m}$   
usual with you (sg.).

Case 13.  $a + i > ay$ :  $\text{ka-} + M \text{ } \text{ipw}\acute{e}\text{r}\acute{e}\text{k}$ ,  $K \text{ } \text{ipw}\acute{o}\text{r}\acute{e}\text{k} >$   
 $M \text{ } \text{k}\grave{a}y\text{-pw}\acute{e}\text{r}\acute{e}\text{k}$ ,  $K \text{ } \text{k}\grave{a}y\text{-pw}\acute{o}\text{r}\acute{e}\text{k}$  dress up, pretty up.

Case 14.  $i + a^{\cdot} > ya$ :  $i^{\cdot} + ^{\cdot}\text{a}^{\cdot}\text{p} > y^{\cdot}\text{ap}^{\cdot}\text{k}\acute{il}\text{a}\eta$  but I  
saw. This case is restricted to  $y^{\cdot}\text{ap}$  as shown here.

2. 3. 2. 2. Elisions. Most cases of elision show  
 $M \text{ } \epsilon$ ,  $K \text{ } e$  contiguous with another vowel; the former is  
 then elided, whether in first or second position; many



of these cases of contiguity may also result in contractions (see above). These cases are quite frequent; most of them involve the hypotactic particle M en, K en or other particles: lokáya + M en, K en > lokáya<sup>ˆ</sup>n<sup>ˆ</sup>pó·npey language of Ponape, M túwe, K túwe + M en, K en > M i<sup>ˆ</sup>·<sup>ˆ</sup>tuwe<sup>ˆ</sup>n<sup>ˆ</sup>mén that's how it is, i<sup>ˆ</sup>· + M en, K en > i<sup>ˆ</sup>·<sup>ˆ</sup>n<sup>ˆ</sup>ú·t<sup>ˆ</sup>iyèw a bunch of bananas, sá·m-pey + M en, K en > M sà·m-pey<sup>ˆ</sup>n<sup>ˆ</sup>nát, K sà·mpey<sup>ˆ</sup>n<sup>ˆ</sup>nát island of Net, á·nsow + M en, K en > à·nsow<sup>ˆ</sup>n<sup>ˆ</sup>má·wen time of war, M re, K re + a·p > r<sup>ˆ</sup>à·p<sup>ˆ</sup>kó·to they, however, came.

Another case shows elision of a before contiguous stressed vowel: wiyá·ta + ínow > i<sup>ˆ</sup>wiya·-t<sup>ˆ</sup>ínow I made a promise. This case is not very frequent, contraction of a and i (see case 13 above) is much more frequent here.

2.4. Variations Contingent on Stress. A large number of morphemes that contain determinate vowels have free variants with indeterminate e in unstressed position: ka- ~ ke- (causative), as in M ka-mé·-la ~ ke-mé·-la kill; M en, K en ~ en (hypotactic particle), as in M wèr<sup>ˆ</sup>en<sup>ˆ</sup>nán<sup>ˆ</sup>sap, K wàr<sup>ˆ</sup>en<sup>ˆ</sup>nán<sup>ˆ</sup>sap ~ M wèr<sup>ˆ</sup>en<sup>ˆ</sup>nán<sup>ˆ</sup>sap, K wàr<sup>ˆ</sup>en<sup>ˆ</sup>nán<sup>ˆ</sup>sap railway; automobile.

In the main dialect, e may vary freely with é in stressed position as well: pérren ~ pérren joy, pàŋ-u·k-ála betray you (sg.) ~ pèŋ-komwí·-la betray you (hon.).

2.5. Variations Contingent on Position in the Word. A number of verb suffixes and stems lengthen

short final vowel in non-word-final position; these same suffixes and stems, however, re-shorten non-word-final vowel if they precede contracted forms (cf. 2. 3. 2. 1.): kó·-to came, lengthened - ko·-tó·-saŋ came from, re-shortened - kó-to·-ŋ came to; wiya make, lengthened - wiya·-kí·-la do it with, re-shortened - wiyá-la·-ŋ do it to; inów-ki promise, lengthened - inow-kí·-ta promise, re-shortened - inow-kí-to·-ŋ promised to me.

#### 2. 6. Variations Contingent on Juncture. A

number of variations affect the vocalic nuclei of morphemes forming a close-knit semantic unit. Such morphemes are said to be in grammatical close juncture (see chapter XIII); in many cases, the same morphemes may occur in non-juncture sequence as well, and phonemic shapes differ in the two types of sequences: in M sòŋ·en· má·n-et the kind of this animal sòŋ· and en· are in juncture, en· and má·n- are in non-juncture sequence; in M sò·ŋ·en·mén·w-et this kind of animal sò·ŋ· and en· are in non-juncture sequence, en· and mén· are in juncture. Both of these examples are hypotactic phrases (see chapter XI); note, however, the differences in the 'logical' attributive relationship apparent from the different placement of this in the translation.

Morphemes affected by grammatical close juncture usually have but one vocalic nucleus, sometimes two. Phonological processes involved are shortening of long

vowel, and change of vowel quality. The latter either consists of raising of low vowel, or of assonance with the ensuing vocalic nucleus. Shortening and raising may operate within the same morpheme, and - separately or together - affect cases of a somewhat different type from those affected by assonance (see chapter XIII), this in spite of the fact that some instances of raising parallel assonance.

2. 6. 1. Shortening. This variation affects a number of single-nucleus morphemes in both dialects.

Case 1. a· is in juncture shortened to a: sa·p land - tó·n̂sap inhabitant of the land, mé·n̂sap people of the land; wa·r canoe - ní·t̂war float a canoe, wàr-at̂só·p our (excl.) ship.

Case 2. o· is in juncture shortened to o: so·ŋ kind, manner - M sòŋ̂en̂má·n-et̂, K sòŋ̂en̂má·n-et̂ the kind of this animal; so·r looks - só·r̂amwàw good looks; pwo·r heap - M pwòr̂en̂t̂ákay, K pwòr̂en̂t̂ákay heap of

Case 3. M ɛ·, K e· is in juncture shortened to M ɛ, K e: M pe·s, K pe·s ashes, home - M peŝén̂mən, K peŝén̂mən bird's nest.

Case 4. o· is in juncture shortened to o; vowel-initial morphemes have prosthetic w in position after point of juncture: o·l man - M ol̂mén̂et̂, K ol̂mán̂et̂ this man, M òl̂en̂wáy, K òl̂en̂wáy foreigner, but - pwi·n̂wol men's company, M riyé·wol, K riyé·wol her brother, kití·wol male dog, pwi·k̂wol male pig,

lokáya'n'wòl manly speech, inow'n'wòl man's promise,  
M el'én'wòl code of manliness; o't reef - M mes'én'wot  
face of the reef.

Case 5. u is in juncture shortened to u: u:m  
one - úmwiyo that.

Case 6. i is in juncture shortened to i: pi:l  
water - M píl'en'tú·tu, K píl'en'tú·tu bathwater; ʔi:m  
nose - ʔimw-ey my nose.

Case 7. a·u is in juncture shortened to au: tá·u  
channel passage - taw'kiyéyl 'Crocodile Channel'.

Case 8. e·u is in juncture shortened to ew: é·u  
one - tó·l'ew a hill; té·u space - téw-rayl their space.

2.6.2. Raising. This variation affects a number  
of morphemes with base alternants containing a; this  
vowel is raised to M ε (and remains unraised in K), o,  
or ɔ.

Case 1. Raising to M ε: mas face - M mēs-ε his  
face, M mēs-ara their (d.) faces; kap sheaf - M kèp'en'  
sé·u'kap a sheaf of sugar cane; sánsal sign - M sènsel'  
en'ò·mwi'kó·to a sign of your coming.

Raised ε in turn often has an unstressed alternant  
e: páli part - M pèliy'en'f'm part of the house, but -  
M pèliy'en'mwom swarm of fish.

Case 2. Raising to ɔ: parr bundle - M pèrr'en'  
tóropwe'pàrr, K pèrr'en'tóropwe'pàrr a bundle of paper.  
Only the above example of this case was recorded.

Assonated raising. In a number of cases, raising  
to M ε occurs only in assonance to ensuing morpheme with



nucleus M ɛ: at name - M ét-ɛ his name, M ét'en'límpok name of the love, but - át'amwàw good name.

2. 6. 3. Combined Shortening and Raising. This variation affects a number of single-nucleus morphemes with base alternants containing a·; this vowel is shortened and raised to M ɛ (shortening only in K, cf. 2. 6. 1., case 1), o, or ɔ.

Case 1. Shortening and raising to M ɛ: ma'n ani-mal, bird - M mén'in'kèter messenger, M rirr'in'men flock of birds, M mén'tik insect.

a·y is shortened and raised to M ɛy: ma·y breadfruit - M éyni'mey bake breadfruit, M tùn'en'méy'tun a bundle of breadfruit, M kən-èy'méy my breadfruit; mwa·y spot, color - mwéy'n'liròrr birthmark, mwéymwey motley.

a·w is shortened and raised to M ɛw: tá·w-i walk around, supervise - téw'sap wanders about in the land, supervises the land.

Case 2. Shortening and raising to o: mwa·m fish - M sò·ŋ'en'mwóm, K sò·ŋ'en'mwóm a kind of fish, M éyn'mwom, K áyn'mwom cook fish, M mwòmw'en'yá, K mwòmw'en'yá fish from where, M kən-èy'mwóm, K kan-à·y'mwóm my fish.

Case 3. Shortening and raising to ɔ: a·ŋ wind - óŋ'ma· strong wind, kis'in'yóŋ gust of wind.

Assonated shortening and raising. In a number of cases, shortening and raising to M ɛ (with unstressed alternant e) occurs only in assonance to ensuing morpheme with nucleus M ɛ: wa·r canoe - M wér-ɛ his canoe,

but - ní·t'war float\_a\_canoë, wàr'at'só·p our\_(excl.)  
 ship (cf. 2. 6. 1., case 1); ta·l dish - M tèl'en'sákaw  
 kava dish, but - M sápa'tál er'rúy dish-lifting of Ruy  
 (propitiating rite); a·l road - M él-ey my\_road, but -  
 ál-at our\_(excl.)\_road, M lep'in'iyàl bit\_of\_road.

2. 6. 4. Assonance. A number of single-nucleus  
 morphemes vary the nucleus vowel in partial or complete  
 assonance with the closest nucleus of the morpheme with  
 which they are in juncture. The assonating vowel in such  
 morphemes is transcribed V: V- one (numeral stem, see  
 chapter VIII) - M é-men, K á-man one (of living beings),  
 ó-pwəṭ ~ á-pwəṭ (partial assonance) one (of oblong ob-  
 jects), á-parr one (of bundles of paper), ú-tun one  
 (of bundles of food), ó-por one (of pieces of board),  
 ó-sup (partial assonance) one (of oblong pieces);  
 -Vn (verbalizer, see 7. 2. 1.) - at-án-iki be called,  
 likos-ón-ta be in a bad mood, sor-on-kí'-ta take the  
 looks of, dress up as.

2. 7. Compound Variations. In many cases, more  
 than one morphophonemic process affects the same mor-  
 pheme or group of morphemes, resulting in several co-  
 occurring variations - compound variations.

Thus, shortening of vocalic nucleus caused by  
 juncture, and addition of epenthetic w in sandhi to-  
 gether affect sa·p land in sápw-ara their\_(d.)\_land;  
 contraction in bilateral sandhi and assimilation in  
 sandhi to the next morpheme affect M en, K en in

po·r̥reṭi·t̥ upon\_the\_door.

2. 8. Summary. Variations in the phonemic shape of morphemes discussed in this chapter are contingent upon morphophonemic processes statable in terms of phonemic environment (sandhi, stress) or grammatical classifications (position within the word, juncture). Some other variations exist, but cannot be stated in similarly generalized terms; they are therefore not treated in this chapter but are reserved for mere listing in the treatment of individual morphemes in the ensuing chapters on morphology, phraseology, and syntax.

### III. Morpheme Distribution: Word, Phrase, Sentence

**Note:** In this and the following chapters dialect differences will be indicated only in citing morphemes, wherever forms of both dialects were obtained. Most of the examples used henceforth are main dialect forms and will not be especially marked as such; the occasional Kiti examples will be indicated by a preceding K as before. Superscripts arcs (^) are used to indicate word boundaries within the same stress group; single hyphens (-) are used to mark morpheme boundaries, double hyphens (=) to separate components of morpheme clusters (see below).

3. 0. ~~~~~ Ponapean morphemes are integrated into larger units of varying degrees of cohesion: words, phrases, sentences. Sentences consist of one or more phrases, phrases of one or more words, words of one or more morphemes or morpheme clusters. The latter are groups of morphemes with distributions within the word similar to those of single morphemes: i=r=ayl they\_(pl.), a three-morpheme cluster, is distributed within words in the same manner as the single morpheme ye me: kà-me-y=r=áyl-la kill them is parallel in structure to kà-me-yé'-la kill me.

3. 0. 1. ~~~~~ The criterion for inclusion of more than one morpheme or morpheme cluster in the same word is fixed relative order, in addition to funct-



ioning in the phrase as a unit. Thus, in the word  $kà=pwar=é\cdot-ta$  show the component morphemes occur only in that relative order, and the word as a whole functions as a single unit within the phrase, i. e. its distribution parallels that of a single morpheme:  $i\hat{k}a=pwar=è\cdot-ta\hat{m}é\cdot\hat{k}o\check{t}$  I show something, where  $\hat{k}a=pwar=è\cdot-ta\hat{m}$  is a four-morpheme word, is parallel to  $i\hat{k}ila\eta\hat{m}é\cdot\hat{k}o\check{t}$  I see something, where  $\hat{k}ila\eta\hat{m}$  is a single-morpheme word.

A characteristic that words share with phrases is their phonemic separability: especially in careful speech (as in dictation), words and phrases tend to be separated by pauses, i. e. to coincide with stress groups (cf. 1. 2.); in conversational speech, on the contrary, this correspondence is often broken up:  
dictation speed -  $tó\cdot tó\ me\hat{p}wáynta\ yén\ kí\cdot t\ pwé\cdot ki\ sànsal\hat{a}mwáw$ ,  
conversational speed -  $tò\cdot tó\ me\hat{p}wáynta\ yen\hat{kí}\cdot t\ pwe\cdot ki\hat{sànsal}\hat{a}mwáw$  (there are) many who paid a thousand Yen because it looked good.

3. 0. 2. Just as a considerable number of morphophonemic processes tend to obscure morpheme boundaries (cf. ambimorphemic vocalic nuclei, 2. 3. 2. 1.), so are word- and phrase-integration patterns sufficiently flexible to allow for similar overlappings between words and phrases.

Thus, in the phrase  $pali-là\cdot-sa\eta\hat{m}-ét\check{t}$  came-there-from here,  $pali-là\cdot-sa\eta\hat{m}$  can be considered a word in the light of the criteria given above; on the other

hand, the morpheme saŋ from (forming part of pali-là--saŋ) may also form a separate phrase with the ensuing word m-ét here: sàŋm-ét from here, as in the sentence sàŋm-étkó--la from here on (lit.: from here go there), and thus function as a single-morpheme word as well as a component morpheme of a word within an almost identical distributional frame; a distributional possibility that is not shared by the other component morphemes of pali-là--saŋ.

In another instance, polymorphemic words of the type kó-mw-i you (hon.) can be 'demoted' to the status of morpheme clusters and included (as suffixes) in larger word units: kàtar-ko=mw=i--la send you (hon.) there, cf. kàtar-iyé--la send me there.

Likewise, in many cases phrases can be 'demoted' to morpheme clusters and included (as themes) in larger word units: sò·n-ti^mwáw feel well, included in sò·n=ti=  
mwáw-ta--r has come to feel well; òl^en^wáy foreigner, included in òl=en=wáy-ka-n foreigners; insén^amwàw contentment (lit.: good cheer), included in kà=ynsen=amwàw-iyé--ta satisfied me.

Hence, though the word is a significant unit of Ponapean morpheme distribution, transitional phenomena such as those mentioned above tend to obscure word boundaries as well as the distinctions between words, phrases, and sentences. Therefore, the separate treatment of intra-word (morphological) and inter-word (phraseological and syntactic) distributions attempted in this study is

in the nature of an analytical device rather than a reflection of any sharply distinct difference in the integration patterns of the language themselves.

3.1. From the standpoint of their integration into the phrase, words can be classified as full words and particles. Full words may by themselves constitute, or form the central parts of, phrases; particles are included in phrases as marginal parts by the side of full words which form their central parts: ò·l-o<sup>ˆ</sup> ko·kó<sup>ˆ</sup>-la the-man left, where the word ò·l-o<sup>ˆ</sup> the-man constitutes an actor phrase, and <sup>ˆ</sup>ko·kó<sup>ˆ</sup>-la left an action phrase; y<sup>ˆ</sup>ap<sup>ˆ</sup>sé<sup>ˆ</sup>-se I, however, don't-know, where the particles y<sup>ˆ</sup>II and <sup>ˆ</sup>ap<sup>ˆ</sup> however do not constitute phrases by themselves, but are included into one phrase together with the full word <sup>ˆ</sup>sé<sup>ˆ</sup>-se don't-know.

3.2. Standard phrase types, differentiated on the basis of their function within the sentence, and relevant for the definition of classes of full words, are actor, action, goal, and locative goal phrases: in the sentence àramas-aka-n<sup>ˆ</sup>mwáw<sup>ˆ</sup>kàmatipw-è nà·npey... people like to-give-feasts-to Nahnpey (district title)..., àramas-aka-n<sup>ˆ</sup> the-people is an actor phrase, <sup>ˆ</sup>mwáw<sup>ˆ</sup> kàmatipw-è like to-give-feasts-to is the action phrase, nà·npey... Nahnpey... is the goal phrase; in pwì·k<sup>ˆ</sup>pway<sup>ˆ</sup> láwt pigs are high-priced, pwì·k<sup>ˆ</sup> pigs is an actor phrase, <sup>ˆ</sup>pway<sup>ˆ</sup>láwt high-priced (lit.: price high) is

a (predicative) goal phrase; in i'sò--tɛ'mí'mm-ɛt I wasn't here, i'sò--tɛ'mí I wasn't (lit.: I not was) is an action phrase, mm-ɛt here is a locative goal phrase.

Dependent on their function in the above-named phrase types, full words are classified as verbs, nouns, and locatives, which in turn include locative demonstratives and noun-like prepositions.

3. 2. 1. Verbs are full words that may by themselves constitute, or form the central parts of, action phrases: in the sentence ày'penéyney insen=amwáw-la my family has-become-satisfied, the verb insen=amwáw-la has-become-satisfied constitutes the action phrase; in ná·nmwarrkiy-o mwèyn'elle'pil'só--tɛ kupúr-eki the-Nahnwarrki (district title) perhaps maybe also doesn't feel-like-it, the verb kupúr-eki feel-like-it forms the central part of the action phrase mwèyn'elle'pil'só--tɛ kupúr-eki perhaps maybe also doesn't feel-like-it.

3. 2. 2. Nouns are words that may by themselves constitute, or form the central parts of, actor and goal phrases: in the sentence ò·l-ɛ'pá·n kàti-tá·tɛ the-man will just-come-down (hon.), the noun ò·l-ɛ' the-man constitutes an actor phrase; in kàmatip'tó·to wiyawí-yer many feasts have-been-made, the noun kàmatip' feasts forms the central part of the



actor phrase kàmatip<sup>ˆ</sup>tó·to many feasts; in ε<sup>ˆ</sup>ka=pà·-pesen<sup>ˆ</sup>pé·-ka she spread-apart (her) legs, the noun ˆpé·-ka legs constitutes a goal phrase; in i<sup>ˆ</sup>mwáw-ki kl<sup>ˆ</sup>·-yon-ko=mw=i<sup>ˆ</sup>ay<sup>ˆ</sup>pówt I want-to give-you my wife, the noun ˆpówt wife forms the central part of the goal phrase ˆay<sup>ˆ</sup>pówt my wife.

3. 2. 3. Locatives - locative demonstratives and noun-like prepositions - are full words that may by themselves constitute, or form the central parts of, locative goal phrases: in the sentence ay<sup>ˆ</sup>píryen<sup>ˆ</sup> pa·n kò·-to<sup>ˆ</sup>lákap my friend will come to-morrow, the locative demonstrative ˆlákap to-morrow constitutes the locative goal phrase; in the sentence tú·ke m<sup>ˆ</sup>·m<sup>ˆ</sup>i<sup>ˆ</sup> mp-á-r-ayl a-tree stands next-to-them, the noun-like preposition ˆmp-á-r-ayl next-to-them constitutes the locative goal phrase; in the sentence i-r-àyl<sup>ˆ</sup>pa·n<sup>ˆ</sup>píl wà·-to<sup>ˆ</sup>m-ét<sup>ˆ</sup>ˆtə they will just bring it right here, the locative demonstrative ˆm-ét<sup>ˆ</sup> here forms the central part of the locative goal phrase ˆm-ét<sup>ˆ</sup>ˆtə right here (lit.: here only).

3. 3. Particles fall into three major classes: those that are paired with verbs in action phrases (ad-verbal particles, see 9. 1.), those that are paired with nouns in actor and goal phrases (ad-nominal particles, see 9. 2.), and those that may be included in phrases of any type, or included in the sentence without forming part of any of its constituent phrases (syntactic

particles, cf. chapter XII). In addition, two particles - copula (see chapter X) and hypotactic particle (see chapter XI) - have special phrase-type-changing and phrase-linking functions respectively.

Certain particles are similar in morphemic composition to nouns and verbs; these are noun-like and verb-like particles respectively, but their morphemic composition is not directly correlated with their distribution in phrase and sentence.

3. 4. Words consisting of more than one morpheme contain a word nucleus, theme (which in turn may consist of one or more morphemes), to which may be added a number of suffixes. Suffixation possibilities serve as an additional index of word class, although certain suffixes may occur as syntactic particles as well (cf. 3. 0. 2., 4. 9.).

#### IV. Morphology: Verb Suffixes

4. 0. Verb suffixes occur in seven relative positions after the verb theme; a number of verb suffixes have in addition other distributions (cf. 3. 0. 2., 4. 9.). Suffixes of the same position are mutually exclusive.

Although theoretically a verb might well contain a suffix in each position, the maximum actually found were verbs containing suffixes in but four positions: sɔwpey-ki-to·-ŋ-íye (theme, positions 1, 4, 5, 6) més-emw-en turn your face to me (lit.: turn-by-to-me that-your-face, i. e. turn to me by means of your face), kɔ-to·-ŋ-iyé·-yer (theme, positions 4, 5, 6, 7) (they) have come to me.

Verbs containing suffixes in three or fewer positions are very common: má·-la·-r (theme, positions 4, 7) has become aged, mwo·n-tí·-yoŋ-er (theme, positions 3, 5, 7) nan·wá·r-et sat-down in the-canoe, tãre-kin-íye (theme, positions 1, 2) search for me, i·kos-kí·-ti (theme, positions 1, 4) tákay I throw-downward-with a-stone, i·l̥si-k-iyé·-la (theme, positions 2, 4) I burnt-myself; ùkə-ki·-tá·-la (theme, positions 1, 3, 4) come down with it, pãto·-là·-saŋ-íye (theme, positions 4, 5, 6) went away from me (hum.), K kòkɔw-tá·-saŋ-aŋa (theme, positions 4, 5, 7) nan·pwé built straight up

from the ground (lit.: built-up-from-only in the dirt).

In the first position is found the instrumental suffix -ki-; in the second position occur personal object pronouns; in the third position the absolute directives -ti- down, -ta- up, -yey- out of, -loq- into; in the fourth position the relative directives -to- here (towards me), -la- there (towards him), M -way-, K -wey- there (towards you); in the fifth position the object directives -oq- to, -saq- from; in the sixth position personal object pronouns; in the seventh position the completive M -er, K -er already, and the limitative M -ts, K -ta only.

In addition to these verb suffixes with determined positions, there are three generalized directives: M -pene-, K -pena- together, M -pesen-, K -pesan- apart, -seli- scattered about. Of these, M -pene-, K -pena- together has been found in what may be called an in-between position, i. e. after suffixes of position 1, 2, and before suffixes of position 7: intiq-ki-pene (theme, positions 1, in-between) write together, ke'-yuk-pene (theme, positions 2, in-between) bite you, pwol-e-pene-r (theme, positions in-between, 7) embraced. The remaining two generalized directives have not been found in conjunction with other verb suffixes, but they share most other distributions of the former, and can therefore be assumed to occur in in-between position as well.

In the following, the above examples showing the relative position of verb suffixes are arranged in



tabular form:

verb theme	1st p. instr.	2nd p. pers. obj.p.	3rd p. absol. direct.	4th p. relat. direct.	5th p. object direct.	6th p. pers. obj.p.	7th p. compl. limit.
	in-between position: generalized directives						
sòwpey	-ki			-to·	-ŋ	-fye	
kò				-to·	-ŋ	-iyé·	-yer
má·				-la·			-r
mwo·n			-tí·		-yoŋ		-er
tàre	-kin	-fye					
kos	-kí·		-ti				
isi=k		-iyé·		-la			
ùke	-ki·		-tá·	-la			
pàto·				-là·	-saŋ	-fye	
K kòkòw			-tá·		-saŋ		-áta
intìŋ	-ki		-péne				
ké·		-yuk	-pene				
pwòle			-péne·				-r

4.1. Suffix of the First Position: -ki- instrumental. This suffix also occurs in some non-verbal distributions, to be discussed in 4.9. It has two groups of alternants: a base alternant -ki-, and one with base form -kin- before personal object pronouns of the second position: i<sup>h</sup>mwáw-ki I like (lit.: I am-good with), but - i<sup>h</sup>mwàw-kin<sup>h</sup>ú·k I like you (lit.: I am-good-with-you).

Both alternants -ki- and -kin- frequently have

sandhi forms with prosthetic i or e: -iki-, -ikin-, or -eki-, -ekin-, after morphemes ending in non-homorganic consonants (cf. 2. 3. 1. 1., case 1):  
 pél-iki have taboo of, pòwt-ikin-ú·k marry you,  
 kupúr-eki feel like it (hon.). In many cases, sandhi forms are optional: pòwt-ikin-ú·k ~ pòwt-kin-ú·k marry you (cf. also 1. 4. 2.).

Alternant -ki- has a non-word-final form with lengthened vowel, -ki·- (in sandhi -iki·-, -eki·-, cf. 2. 5.): kère-kí·-ta take along, pwilipwil-kí·-la become soiled by it.

4. 2. Suffixes of the Second Position: personal object pronouns. The distribution of personal object pronouns in the verb will be discussed in 4. 6. above, their morphemic composition will be treated in the ensuing chapter VI.

4. 3. Suffixes of the Third Position: -ti- down, -ta- up, -yey- out of, -log- into, absolute directives. These suffixes have sandhi alternants with prosthetic vowels; suffixes -ti- down and -ta- up have in addition lengthened non-word-final alternants, suffix -yey- out of has in addition a free variant -i·- (cf. also 1. 3.) which is considered more colloquial and frequently found in fast speech.

-ti- down has sandhi alternants with prosthetic i: -iti-, after morphemes ending in non-homorganic consonants: kó·-ti goes down, but - i·pàrek=iráp-iti I

spread-a-mat, ka=sapwíl-iti depose.

The non-word-final alternant is -ti·- out of sandhi, -iti·- in sandhi: pù·r-ki·-tí·-la go down with, ker-iti·-la land there.

-ta- up has sandhi alternants with prosthetic a: -ata-, after morphemes ending in non-homorganic consonants and semivowels: i'wiyá·-ta I make, but -pwár-ata appear, rise, i'mwèn=ekiy-áta I have-a-premonition.

The non-word-final alternant is -ta·- out of sandhi, -ata·- in sandhi: ko·-tá·-la go up there, pwar-atá·-saŋ appeared from, rose from.

-yey- out of has sandhi forms with prosthetic i: -iyey-, after stop-final morphemes: péy-yey float outward, but -kak-iyéy-saŋ can (get) out of there. -i·- is a frequent free alternant of -yey- in out-of-sandhi as well as sandhi positions: ko·-í·-la go out there, i'ilak-í·-la I send-out-there. In one case, -ey- was found alternating with -iyey- in sandhi position: kak-éy-saŋ ~ kak-iyéy-saŋ can (get) out of there.

-loŋ- into has sandhi forms with prosthetic o: -oloŋ-, after some semivowel- (and consonant- ?) final morphemes: péy-loŋ float inland, but -kasà·w-oloŋ-ála carry in, receive.

4.4. Suffixes of the Fourth Position: -to- here (towards me), -la- there (towards him), M -wey-, K -wey- there (towards you), relative directives. These suffixes have sandhi alternants with prosthetic vowels;

suffixes -to- here (towards me), and -la- there (towards him) have in addition lengthened non-word-final alternants. Semantically, relative directives parallel certain demonstrative noun suffixes; their semantics will be discussed together with the treatment of the latter in 5.3. below.

-to- here (towards me) has sandhi alternants with prosthetic o and e: -oto- and -eto-, before morphemes ending in non-homorganic consonants: wá-to brought here, but -pure-lón-oto come back in here, pwár-eto appear here.

The non-word-final alternants are -to- out of sandhi, -oto- and -eto- in sandhi: ko-tó-san came here from, píte-lón-otó-san came in here from, pwár-etó-san appeared here from.

-la- there (towards him) has sandhi alternants with prosthetic a: -ala-, after morphemes ending in non-identical consonant: i<sup>h</sup>sapál-la I walk-there, but -l<sup>h</sup>pa.n<sup>h</sup>kà.re-yuk-ála I shall lead you there. Sandhi alternants are sometimes found after semivowel-final morphemes as well: i<sup>h</sup>llakiy-ála I send-there.

The non-word-final alternants are -la- out of sandhi, -ala- in sandhi: pali-lá-san returns from there, pwár-alá-san appears there from.

suffixes -to- here (towards me) and -la- there (towards him) have, in a few instances in poetic style, been found to occur as full verbs: ira<sup>h</sup>tò.<sup>h</sup>n<sup>h</sup>ka-léle  
nà.ni<sup>h</sup>po.npéy they came to discover about (lit.: in)

Ponape (from a kaepir song). These forms are not intelligible to younger speakers, and are not used in conversation or narrative. They are restricted to traditional song texts.

M -way-, K -wey- there (towards you) has sandhi alternants with prosthetic o and sometimes a: M -owey-, K -owey-, and M -away-, K -away-, after some consonant-final morphemes: tiyé-way push there, but - séyk-owey repel (your attack), ka-sapwil-áway push back.

4. 5. Suffixes of the Fifth Position: -on- to, -san- from, object directives. These suffixes also share an important non-verbal distribution pattern, see 4. 9. below. They have sandhi alternants with prosthetic semivowel and vowel respectively; suffix -on- in addition undergoes bilateral sandhi with certain preceding vowel-final morphemes (cf. 2. 3. 2. 1.), and has alternants with changed vowel in certain distributions.

-on- to has sandhi alternants with prosthetic y and w: -won- and -yon-, occurring after morphemes ending in back vowels, and morphemes ending in low, mid, and high-front vowels, respectively: lisé·yan-on pregnant from, but - tú·-won meet; pá·-yon be suited for, ne·né·-yon be distributed to. After some morphemes, both sandhi forms, as well as the base form, are found: kó·-won ~ kó·-yon ~ kó·-on come to.

After suffixes of the fourth position -to- here



(towards me) and -la- there (towards him), as well as after some a-final (and M ε-, K e-final?, see below) morphemes, -oŋ- is in bilateral sandhi with the preceding vowel: puré-la--ŋ came back there to, kò-to--ŋ-iyé-yer came to me, ì'én'wíya--ŋ I should do about it. In some cases, bilateral sandhi alternates with unilateral (cf. above): wíya--ŋ ~ wiyá--yŋ do to it.

In a number of set expressions, -oŋ- has alternants with changed vowel -eŋ-, -ewŋ-, and M -ε·ŋ-, K -e·ŋ-. The latter two alternants may perhaps be analyzed more efficiently as activizer suffix I M -ε-, K -e- (see 7.2.2.), a part of the theme, in bilateral sandhi with -oŋ-: key-éŋ-ε̣ go at it!, but - mwàkar-éwŋ'ε-men or mwàkar=éw-ŋ'ε-men angry-at someone, né'=k-ε·ŋ or né'=k=ε·ŋ distribute to, káwl-ε·ŋ'ε-men or káwl=ε·ŋ'ε-men give someone, mwéyt-ε·ŋ or mwéyt=ε·ŋ abandon to.

-saŋ- from has an occasional sandhi alternant with prosthetic M ε: M -εsaŋ after consonant-final morphemes: kí'-saŋ take, receive, but - sipet-ésaŋ sweep from.

4.6. Suffixes of the Sixth Position: personal object pronouns. These will be listed in chapter VI, where their morphemic composition is discussed.

Personal object pronouns are included in the verb in either the second, or the sixth, positions; theoretically, they may well be included in both positions, but available examples show them in only one position at a time.

In sixth position, personal object pronouns are

obligatorily paired with an object directive of the fifth position, and are semantically governed by the latter: kí·-yoŋ-kò-mw=i give to you (hon.), kò-to·-ŋ-iyé-yer has come to me, i·à·=n-eki·-saŋ-ú·k I got it from you.

In second position, the occurrence of personal object pronouns is not contingent upon the co-occurrence of any other verb suffix, and they are semantically governed by the verb theme and suffixes in positions 1, 3, 4: kàmatipw=á-ir (theme, position 2) make a feast for them (d.), i·tliyar·ú·k (theme, position 2) I found you, ka=yà·n=ε-kin-kó-mw=i (theme, positions 1, 2) became acquainted with you (hon.), pàliy=àn-iyé·-ta (theme, positions 2, 3) against me, pàŋ-u·k-ála (theme, positions 2, 4) betray you.

4.7. Suffixes of the Seventh Position: M -er, K -er already (completive), M -tε, K -ta only (limitative). Both of these suffixes have sandhi alternants, with prosthetic semivowel and vowel respectively; M -er, K -er in addition undergoes bilateral sandhi with certain preceding vowel-final morphemes (cf. 2.3.2.1.). Suffix M -tε, K -ta also occurs in a number of non-verbal distributions, see 4.9.

M -er, K -er already has a y-initial sandhi alternant after i-final morphemes, and undergoes bilateral sandhi with preceding vowel after many morphemes ending in other vowels: i·tliyar-er I found already, but - i·té·te·-ki-yer I've understood; pwòl=ε-péne·-r have

embraced, samw-óto·-r came in, kó-ta·-r has come up.

M -tɛ, K -ta has sandhi alternants with prosthetic M ɛ, K a: M -ɛtɛ, K -aɛa, after morphemes ending in non-homorganic stops, nasals, and sometimes semivowels: pi·r-wéy-tɛ just flies there, but - páy-ɛtɛ just by luck, kák-ɛtɛ can only, K kòkow-tá·-saŋ-aɛa just built up from.

4.8. Suffixes with In-Between Position: M -pənc-, K -pena- together, M -pesəŋ-, KK -pesaŋ- apart, -seli- in some poetic contexts: M -seləwi-, K -selewi-) scattered about, generalized directives. These suffixes have but one alternant each: lól-pənc love each other, tú·-pənc meet, K í·r-pena link together; kəs=ɛ-pəsəŋ throw around, kɪ·-pesəŋ<sup>h</sup>né·-ka spread legs, K sɪmwey-pesaŋ grab apart; ko·kó·-seli roam around, pəmpap-séli swim around, wɪyawɪya-séli putter around, be doing; kó·-seləwi (poetic) go around.

4.9. Non-Verbal Distributions of Verb Suffixes.  
Most verbal suffixes function as particles in non-verbal distributions; suffix of the first position -ki- instrumental is sometimes found suffixes to the noun in certain non-standard goal phrases: i<sup>h</sup>wɪya<sup>h</sup>ó·l mwá·l<sup>h</sup>iki I thought (lit.: made) the-man a-commoner, wɪya<sup>h</sup>pó·t<sup>h</sup>-iki tū·kə·<sup>h</sup>n<sup>h</sup> pó·npəy make a-boat-from wood of Ponape.

Suffixes of the fourth position -oŋ- to, -saŋ- from, object directives, occur also as initial members of locative goal phrases before noun expressions, locative demonstratives, and locative particles; in these positions they function as pre-locative particles:

kis<sup>ˈ</sup>in<sup>ˈ</sup>likow on<sup>ˈ</sup>b<sup>ˈ</sup>-mw-i<sup>ˈ</sup>pówt a letter (lit.: bit of cloth) to your wife, on<sup>ˈ</sup>f<sup>ˈ</sup>s to whom; san<sup>ˈ</sup>méte of iron, sán<sup>ˈ</sup>m-ét<sup>ˈ</sup> kó<sup>ˈ</sup>-la from now on (lit.: from here go-there), sán<sup>ˈ</sup>nan<sup>ˈ</sup>wé<sup>ˈ</sup>l-o from (in) the-forest.

Suffix of the seventh position M -te, K -ta only (limitative) functions as a syntactic particle immediately following nouns, numerals, and pronouns, and preceding the hypotactic particle M en, K en: sò<sup>ˈ</sup>ŋ<sup>ˈ</sup>et<sup>ˈ</sup>te<sup>ˈ</sup> lítu only-a-sort-of servant, nèy<sup>ˈ</sup>serí<sup>ˈ</sup>ˆte ryé-men I have only two children (lit.: my children only two), pwi<sup>ˈ</sup>n-o<sup>ˈ</sup> te<sup>ˈ</sup>mm-ét<sup>ˈ</sup> a-group only here, è-men<sup>ˈ</sup>te<sup>ˈ</sup>kumwur-áta one just laughs, nan<sup>ˈ</sup>pùŋ<sup>ˈ</sup>an<sup>ˈ</sup>i-r-áyl<sup>ˈ</sup>te<sup>ˈ</sup> between themselves only. Before a numeral 'one', and before the hypotactic particle, it is in bilateral sandhi with ensuing initial vowel: sò<sup>ˈ</sup>m-pi<sup>ˈ</sup>r<sup>ˈ</sup>té<sup>ˈ</sup>ˆpwot<sup>ˈ</sup> only one airplane, mè<sup>ˈ</sup>ˆté<sup>ˈ</sup>ˆmen only one (person), K pà<sup>ˈ</sup>rok<sup>ˈ</sup>tá<sup>ˈ</sup>yew an equal (lit. one only) share; te<sup>ˈ</sup>ˆn what if, á<sup>ˈ</sup>p<sup>ˈ</sup>te<sup>ˈ</sup>ˆn just then.

## V. Morphology: Noun Suffixes

5.0. Noun suffixes occur in but three relative positions: adjacent, intermediate, and final. In adjacent position are found personal possessive suffixes, in intermediate position pluralizers, in final position are found demonstrative suffixes. Nouns may have suffixes in any or all of the three positions, but combinations of adjacent and intermediate suffixes with final ones are much more frequent than of adjacent and intermediate suffixes with each other: sápw-ey (theme, adjacent) my country, sá·pw-aka (theme, intermediate) countries, sapw-éy-et̚ (theme, adjacent, final) this country of mine, sá·pw-aka-t̚ (theme, intermediate, final) these countries. Examples of theme, adjacent, intermediate, and theme, adjacent, intermediate, final, are found in the following paragraph.

5.1. Suffixes of Adjacent Position: Personal possessive suffixes. These will be listed and their morphemic composition will be analyzed in chapter VI. Grammatical close juncture (cf. 2.6.) which affects many noun themes followed by personal possessive suffixes, will be discussed in chapter XIII.

Contrary to pluralizers which may occur after any noun theme, personal possessive suffixes are found only



after certain themes; this again will be discussed in chapter VI, where the various classes of personal and possessive morphemes will be discussed and contrasted.

Personal possessive suffixes may precede final demonstrative suffixes: pall=wer-éy-et this body of mine, K imw-áy-o that house of mine, kapé·t-iy-e this breast of mine, més-əmw-en your face there.

In some instances, personal possessive suffixes were found preceding pluralizers: ryà·-r=á·-ko te·píl wà·wa·-r=á·-ko te·kisè·-r=á·-ko their (d.) siblings, or siblings' children, or in-laws, limwà·-r=á·-ka-t the things next to them.

#### 5. 2. Suffixes of Intermediate Position: pluralizers.

These suffixes may occur after any noun theme. They are: -ka- immediate pluralizer, -ko remote pluralizer. Of these, -ka- may be followed by a demonstrative suffix in final position, -ko may not. Both have sandhi alternants with prosthetic vowels.

-ka- immediate pluralizer has sandhi forms with prosthetic a: -aka-, after many consonant-final morphemes: K kls=in=mwóŋo-ka bits of food, but -ó·l-aka men, pówt-aka spouses. In many cases, sandhi forms alternate with out-of-sandhi forms: konót-ka ~ kónot-aka feast offerings.

-ka- immediate pluralizer may be followed by any of these three demonstrative suffixes in final posit-

ion: -ṭ this (my way), -n that (your way), sandhi alternant -w of -o that (his way). The resulting combinations are -(a)ka-ṭ these (my way), -(a)ka-n those (your way), -(a)ka-w those (his way): lí·y-aka-ṭ these women, ṭé·-ka-ṭ these leaves, líkow-ka-ṭ these clothes; kápwa-ṭ-aka-n those garments, í·s-m-eṭ-àka-n who are these here?, konóṭ-ka-n the feast offerings, ṭəke=ṭéy-ka-n the other islands; mè·=n=kawá·-ka-w the people of olden times, ó·l-aka-w those men.

-ko remote pluralizer has a sandhi alternant with prosthetic o: -oko, after some consonant- and semivowel-final morphemes: méyŋ-ko gentlemen, but - wá·r-oko canoes, ó·l-oko those men, lí·y-oko those women.

5. 3. Suffixes of the Final Position: -ṭ this (my way), -n that (your way), -o that (his way), M -e, K -e this, demonstratives.

The first three of these suffixes, -ṭ this (my way), -n that (your way), -o that (his way), appear to form a group, partly on the basis of their occurrence after person markers, and on semantic grounds. From the latter standpoint, it is interesting to compare them to the relative directives - verb suffixes of the fourth position: -to- here (towards me), -la- there (towards you), M -wey-, K -wey- there (towards you) (cf. 4. 4.): the former as well as the latter have location with regard to speaker, hearer, and person referred to, as part of their semantic make-up. This is borne out in the frequent co-occurrence,

in conversational as well as poetic language, of -ṭ with personal possessive suffixes of the first person, and -n with personal possessive suffixes of the second person: pàlì-war-éy-eṭ this body of mine, pàlì-wér-émw-en that body of yours, but not vice versa. Likewise, of the relative directives in the verb, -to- is often best translated by to me, M -way-, K -wey- by to you: kí'-to give me, i'kolip-é'-way I shake-hands-with-you.

-ṭ this (my way) and -n that (your way) have sandhi alternants with prosthetic M ε, K e and unstressed e (see 2. 4.): M -eṭ, K -eṭ, and -eṭ; M -en, K -en, and -en, after consonant- and semivowel-final morphemes: sá'pw-aka-ṭ countries, K mwóngo-ka-n foods, but - pówt-eṭ this spouse, wí'k-eṭ this week; seri-péyn-en that girl, mēs-émw-en your face there. Some vowel-final morphemes have sandhi alternants with lengthened final vowel (cf. 2. 3. 1. 2., case 3) before demonstrative suffixes -ṭ and -o that (his way, see below): wása place - wása'-ṭ this place, wása'-o that place.

These vowel-initial alternants could also be analyzed as morpheme clusters consisting of a (singular) demonstrative suffix M -e-, K -e-, or -e- (identical with the suffix M -e, K -e this above), followed by a personally-localizing demonstrative -ṭ or -n. This would then give two parallel sets for singular and plural:

-e <u>this</u>	-ka <u>these</u>
-e-ṭ <u>this (my way)</u>	-ka-ṭ <u>these (my way)</u>
-e-n <u>that (your way)</u>	-ka-n <u>those (your way)</u>

Even so, there would be no singular parallel to plural -ka-w those (his way).

-o that (his way) has a sandhi alternant -w after the immediate pluralizer -ka- (see 5.1.1.); in other distributions -o, and in all distributions M -ε, K -e this, have but one alternant each: ó·l-o that man, lí·y-o that woman, í·mw-o that house; wá·r-ε this canoe, puťák-ε this boy, mes-éy-ε my face.

In many contexts, -o and M -ε, K -e appear to contrast as a more remote and a closer demonstrative; something like that there and this here. Distributionally, this is borne out by the co-occurrence of -o with locative demonstrative m-o there, and of M -ε, K -e with m-ét here: là·p-o·m-ó that-fellow there, là·p-ε·m-ét this-fellow here, and not vice versa, in contexts of this type.

## VI. Morphology: Person Markers

6.0. Person markers in the form of personal object pronouns occur as parts of verbs (cf. 4.2., 4.6.), in the form of personal possessive suffixes as parts of nouns (cf. 5.1.); in addition, they occur as members of action phrases in the form of personal subject pronouns, and as members of actor, goal, and locative goal phrases in the form of personal possessive pronouns; finally, one set of person markers - noun-like person markers - have a number of nominal distributions: they may by themselves constitute actor phrases before copula action phrases and attributive phrases (see 10.5), and in some other distributions.

All of these person markers are here discussed together, since their morphemic compositions tend to follow identical patterns, and many of their distributions overlap.

Some person markers are single, porte-manteau, morphemes, but most of them consist of clusters within which two or three morphemes carrying various components of the meaning can be singled out: i<sup>h</sup>mwáw-ki I like (with porte-manteau person marker), ki-t̥-àyl<sup>h</sup>mwáw-ki we like (with polymorphemic person marker).

An additional complication of the person-marker system is the social stratification of the language



(speech to equals and inferiors in rank - common, speech to superiors - honorific [hon.] and self-humiliative [hum.] ). The latter is found on several levels of the language (morphology, phraseology, syntax), but can easily be isolated within the structure. In this chapter, social stratification will be considered only to the extent of listing honorific person markers alongside the others; the whole problem of social stratification of speech will be the subject of a separate study.

Porte-manteau morphemes, then component morphemes of clusters, will first be listed here; thereafter, the various sets of person markers and their morphemic composition, as well as their distribution and status with regard to word and phrase, will be discussed; finally, the person markers of the various sets will be compared and summarized with regard to both morphemic composition and distribution.

6. 1. Porte-manteau Person Markers. There are four sets of porte-manteau person markers: subject, object, possessive, noun-like. Subject, object, and noun-like person markers are porte-manteau in all three persons of the singular, possessives are porte-manteau only in the first and third person singular and bi-morphemic in the second. In addition, there is a porte-manteau third person plural subject marker, and a porte-manteau first person plural-dual exclusive noun-like

Porte-manteau person marker morphemes are: i I, first person singular subject, ko you, second person singular subject, a he, third person singular subject, M re, K re they, third person plural subject; M -ye-, K -ye-, me, first person singular object, -u·k- you, second person singular object; ay in one set, M nay, K nay in the other my, first person singular possessive, M e·, K a· in one set, na· in the other his, third person singular possessive; ṇay I, first person singular noun-like, M kówe, K kówe you, second person singular noun-like, i· her, third person singular noun-like, M se, K se we, first person plural-dual exclusive noun-like.

i I, first person singular subject, has a sandhi alternant y after vowel-final morphemes and in bilateral sandhi with ensuing particle a·p but, however (cf. 2. 3. 2. 1., cases 13, 14): i·kó·-la I go-there, but -pwè·y·kó·-la because I went-there, y·ap·kó·-la I, however, went-there.

ko you, second person singular subject, has free variants M ke and ke: M kò·pil·sé·-se, K kò·pil·sá·-sa ~ M kè·pil·sé·-se ~ M kè·pil·sé·-se, K kè·pil·sá·-sa you, too, don't-know.

ko you is by many native speakers considered a shortened form of the second person singular noun-like pronoun M kówe, K kówe; this is undoubtedly correct as far as its etymology is concerned, but distributionally the morpheme parallels i I, a he, and is therefore included with the subject markers and not the noun-like.

a he, third person singular subject, has a free variant  $\epsilon$  in the main dialect:  $a^{\wedge}p\grave{a}\cdot n^{\wedge}wiy\acute{a}wi \sim \epsilon^{\wedge}p\grave{a}\cdot n^{\wedge}wiy\acute{a}wi$  it will be done.

M  $re$ , K  $re$  they, third person plural subject, occurs as a free variant of polymorphemic  $i-r-\acute{a}yl$  they:  $r\acute{e}^{\wedge}p\grave{a}\cdot n^{\wedge}k\acute{o}\cdot-la \sim i-r-\acute{a}yl^{\wedge}p\grave{a}\cdot n^{\wedge}k\acute{o}\cdot-la$  they will go. Natives consider it a shortened form of  $i-r-\acute{a}yl$ , which probably is the correct etymology.

M  $-ye-$ , K  $-ye-$  me, first person singular object, has sandhi alternants with prosthetic  $i$ : M  $-iye-$ , K  $-iye-$ , after consonant-final and  $w$ -final morphemes:  $ka=m\acute{e}-ye$  beats me, but  $-ka=p\grave{u}not-iye$  disturbs me. This morpheme also has non-word-final alternants with lengthened vowel (cf. 2.5.) M  $-ye\cdot-$ , K  $-ye\cdot-$  out of sandhi, M  $-iye\cdot-$ , K  $-iye\cdot-$  in sandhi:  $ka=m\acute{e}\cdot-y\acute{e}\cdot-la$  kill me, but  $-pw\grave{a}n\acute{e}n-iye\cdot-ta$  wake me up.

$u\cdot k$  you, second person singular object, has a sandhi alternant with shortened vowel and prosthetic  $y$ :  $-yuk-$ , after vowel-final morphemes:  $i^{\wedge}t\acute{i}yar-u\cdot k$  I found you, but  $-ka=leke-y\acute{u}k$  watch yourself!

$-i\cdot$  him, third person singular object, has but one alternant:  $k\acute{i}\cdot-yo\eta-i\cdot$  give him,  $k\delta\cdot-sa\eta-i\cdot$  come from him.

Of  $ay$  and M  $ney$ , K  $nay$  my, first person singular possessive, and M  $\epsilon\cdot$ , K  $a\cdot$  and  $na\cdot$  this, third person singular possessive, only base alternants are cited here:  $ay^{\wedge}p\grave{a}\cdot pa$  my father, M  $ney^{\wedge}s\acute{e}ri$ , K  $nay^{\wedge}s\acute{e}ri$

my child; M eːˈpáːpa, K aːˈpáːpa his father, naːˈséɾi his child. Vowel- and n- initial alternants are in complementary distribution before and after certain nouns (and verbs in some contexts); their distribution and additional morphophonemics will be discussed in 6. 3. ~~~~ below.

Noun-like first person singular marker ɲay, and noun-like first person plural-dual exclusive marker M se, K se have but one alternant each, but the vowel of M se, K se may be elided in bilateral sandhi: ɲáyˈmeː paːnˈwáː--to I (am the one) who shall bring it, sèˈmeː kéːlayl we are strong, but - sˈàːmˈpàɬopatóːw-an we, however, are thinking. Second person singular noun-like marker M kówe, K kówe has a free variant M kéwwe, K kéwwe, often used in emphatic situations: meˈkówe ~ meˈkéwwe it's you!

6. 2. Component Morphemes of Polymorphemic Person Markers. Polymorphemic person markers consist of two or three morphemes of the following classes: a type indicator (distinguishing subject-object [including noun-like] from possessive person markers), a person indicator, and a number indicator (marking plural and dual [and in one case honorific singular]).

A person indicator is present in each polymorphemic marker; in three-morpheme markers both a type indicator and a number indicator are present as well; in two-morpheme markers, a type indicator is present in addition to

the person indicator.

5.2.1. Type Indicators. These are either subject-object indicators, or possessive indicators; their phonemic shape is contingent on the accompanying person indicator, and sometimes number indicator as well.

Subject-object indicators are -ki- with first person indicator, -ko- with second person indicator, -i- with third person indicator: ki-t-áyl we, ko-mw-áyl you, i-r-áyl they. -ki- and -i- have lengthened alternants: -ki'-, -i'-, before word-final person indicators: -ki-t- we (excl.), i-r they (cf. 6.3.1.). -i- also has a nonsyllabic free alternant -y- in sandhi after vowel-final morphemes in fast speech: kà=me-y=r=áyl-la ~ kà=me-i=r=áyl-la kill them.

Possessive indicators are parallel to porte-manteau possessive markers (cf. 6.1.), inasmuch as they have alternants without, and with, initial n. These alternants are in complementary distribution before and after certain nouns (and verbs), in the same manner as those of the porte-manteau possessives. Their distribution and additional morphophonemics will be treated in 6.3. below; here, only their base alternants will be cited.

Possessive indicators are -a- and M nay-, K nay- before first and third person indicators, -o- and no'- before word-final second person indicator, -o-, o'- and now- before second person indicator followed by honorific number indicator, -a- and now- before second pers-



on indicator followed by plural and dual number indicators: á-ṭ-a our (d.), M néy-r-ayl, K náy-r-ayl their (pl.); o-m, no-m your (sg.); -o-mw-i, ó-mw-i, nów-mw-i your (hon.); á-mw-a your (d.), nów-mw-ayl your (pl.). -a- has a lengthened alternant a- before word-final third person indicator in certain distributions (cf. i-r above, see 6.3.1.): a-r their.

6.2.2. Person Indicators. These are: -ṭ- for first person (non-singular), -mw- (in word-final -m, cf. epenthetic w in sandhi, 2.3.1.2., case 1) for second person, -r- for third person (non-singular): ki-ṭ-áyl we (pl.); ko-mw-áyl you (pl.), but - o-m your (sg.); i-r-áyl they (pl.).

6.2.3. Number Indicators. These are: -ayl- for plural, -a- for dual, -i- for honorific singular: M néy-ṭ-ayl, K náy-ṭ-ayl our (pl.), kí-ṭ-a we (d.), kó-mw-i your (hon.). Honorific number indicator -i- has a zero free alternant after subject-object indicator and second person indicator, as part of the personal subject pronoun kó-mw-i ~ ko-m-# you (hon.). This alternant is more frequent in colloquial speech: kò-m-#pa.n.káti-la yá where will you (hon.) go? (lit.: you will go-there where?). In addition, it has a lengthened non-word-final alternant in -ko-mw-i-: kà=ta-r-ko-mw=i--la send you (hon.) there. Plural indicator -ayl- has a free alternant -a'ŋ after subject-object indicator and first and second per-

son indicators, in the personal subject pronouns ki-t-á:n we (pl.), ku-mw-á:n you (pl.). Note alternant ku- of subject-object indicator instead of base alternant -ko- as in other second person subject-object markers. These alternant forms are considered very colloquial.

6.3. Morphemic Composition and Distribution of Person Markers. Person markers occur in six distributional sets: personal subject pronouns, personal object pronouns, personal possessive suffixes, vowel-initial and n-initial personal possessive pronouns, noun-like person markers.

Although some person markers form part of more than one set, distribution and morphophonemics vary sufficiently from set to set to warrant paradigmatic, rather than strictly analytical, treatment. The inclusion of polymorphemic person markers in the various sets is contingent, in addition to distribution, upon the type indicator; porte-manteau markers are included in sets alongside the polymorphemic ones on the basis of distribution only, but even here the initial phonemes of some markers are identical to those of the type indicators of the same set.

6.3.1. Personal Subject Pronouns. These are:  
i I, first person singular, ko you, second person singular,  
kó-mw-i you, second person singular honorific, a he, third  
person singular, ki-t we, first person plural-dual ex-  
clusive, ki-t-áyl we, first person plural inclusive,  
kí-t-a we, first person dual inclusive, ko-mw-áyl you.

second person dual, i-r-áyl, shortened M re, K re they,  
third person plural, i-r-a they, third person dual, i'-r  
they, third person plural-dual; you (to highest chiefs).

Their morphemic composition is evident from the above listing: first, second, and third person singular, as well as third person plural shortened, are porte-manteau; first person plural-dual exclusive and third person plural-dual consist of subject-object type indicator and person indicator; other markers consist of type, person, and number indicators. Shortened third person plural M re, K re is occasionally used as an honorific to address the highest chiefs, in these distributions it alternates with third person plural-dual i'-r. In poetic language, third person dual is occasionally found without type indicator: r-a.

Distributionally, personal subject pronouns function as ad-verbal particles: i'mwàw-ki'ko--la'kítì I want-to go-to Kiti, ki-ṭ-àyl'pil'ése we, too, know, ε'pà.n'pwár-ata he will show-up, ke'pil'sò--ṭe'kin'ése you also don't ever know, pwe'y'só--ṭe'kak because I can't (lit.: not can). For distributional details see 9. 1. 2.

6.~3.~2. Personal Object Pronouns. These are:  
 M -ye-, K -ye- me, first person singular, -u·k- you,  
second person singular, -ko=mw=i- you, second person  
singular honorific, -i· him, third person singular,  
 -ki'-ṭ- us, first person plural-dual exclusive, -ki=ṭ=ayl-  
us, first person plural inclusive, -ki=ṭ=a- us, first

dual inclusive, -ko=mw=áyl- you, second person plural,  
-ko=mw=a- you, second person dual, -i=r=áyl- them, third  
person plural, -i=r=a- them, third person dual, -i=r them,  
third person plural-dual; you (to highest chiefs).

First, second, and third persons singular are here porte-manteau, the other markers are polymorphemic and identical in composition (though not completely in phonemic shape: i·-r subject, but - -i=r object) with the corresponding members of the preceding set of personal subject pronouns.

Distributionally, personal object pronouns occur primarily as component morphemes of morpheme clusters of verbs. Two of them have limited distribution: -i· him and -i=r them are found in word-final only, though in both second and sixth position; all other object pronouns occur in these positions in word-medial as well as word-final (see 4.2., 4.6.): kì·-yoŋ-i· give him, kàmatipw=á-ir give a feast to them, but - kà-meleyley-yé·-la calm me, as well as intà·-yoŋ-íye tell me, wùkit-i=r=áyl-la change them, as well as kì·-saŋ-i=r=áyl take from them, kitiwèy-ko=mw=i·-ti kill you (hon.) from ambush, as well as kò·-saŋ-kó=mw=i come from you (hon.).

In addition, personal object pronouns may function as quasi-nouns in locative goal phrases after the morphemes on to, saŋ from which then function as pre-locative particles (cf. 4.9., 9.3.): oŋ'íye to me, saŋ'kó-mw-i from you (hon.).

6. 3. 3. Personal Possessive Suffixes. These are:



M -ey-, K -ay- my, first person singular, -o-m(w-) your, second person singular, -o-mw=i- your, second person singular honorific, M -e-, K -a-, his, third person singular, -a=t- our, first person plural-dual exclusive, -a=t=ayl- our, first person plural inclusive, -a=t=a- our, first person dual inclusive, -a=mw=ayl- your, second person plural, -a=mw=a- your, second person dual, -a=r=ayl- their, third person plural, -a=r=a- their, third person dual, -a=r- their, third person plural-dual: your (to highest chiefs).

First and third person singular are here portemanteau; second singular (common), first plural-dual exclusive and third plural-dual consist of possessive indicator and person indicator; the other suffixes consist of type, person, and number indicators.

Personal possessive suffixes are mutually exclusive with the two sets of personal possessive pronouns to be discussed in 6. 3. 4. below. They are found after certain noun themes (denoting parts of the body, important personal possessions such as canoe, land, and nouns for 'place'), and prepositional stems.

The above-quoted base alternants occur after most consonant-final noun themes: M móŋ-ey, K móŋ-ay my head, móŋ-o=m your head, móŋ-a=t our (excl.) heads.

In many other cases, however, morphophonemic variations occur:

(1) After semivowel-final noun themes (including consonant- and vowel-final ones with semivowel-final



sandhi alternants), first person singular possessive suffix M -ey-, K -ay- is raised to -ey- in both dialects: pa'y luck - péy-ey my luck, ʔi'm nose - ʔimw-ey my nose, té'-u place - téw-ey my place, ríy-ey my brother.

(2) In a number of cases, grammatical close juncture (cf. 2. 6., chapter XIII) - which primarily affects the noun theme preceding the suffix - leads, in the main dialect, to a - sometimes assonantial (cf. 2. 6. 4.) - change in the type indicator vowel of the second person singular (common) suffix, especially if a final demonstrative suffix follows, but in some cases in word-final as well: wá'r body - wér-ey ~ wér-ey my body, wér-o=m your body, but - wér-e=mw-en that body of yours; ʔi'm nose, ʔimw-i=m your nose, but - ʔimw-a=ʔ=ayl our noses, ʔimw-a=mw=ayl your noses; pa'y luck - péy-ey my luck, péy-o=m your (sg.) luck, but - péy-a=r-ayl their luck, péy-a=mw=ayl your (pl.) luck.

(2) After certain noun themes and prepositional stems, with grammatical close juncture present or absent, the type indicator has an alternant -ew= as part of the second person singular (common and honorific) suffixes: írap underpinnings - írap-ey my underpinnings, but - írap-ew=m (common), írap-ew=mw=i (honorific) your (sg.) underpinnings, sáwlap mother-in-law - sáwlep-ey my mother-in-law, but - sáwlep-ew=m (common), sáwlep-ew=mw=i (honorific) your mother-in-law; mp-ey next to me, but - mp-ew=m (common), mp-ew=mw=i (honorific)

next to you (sg.).

(4) After vowel-final noun themes and prepositional stems, the initial (or. type indicator) vowel of all personal possessive suffixes undergoes bilateral sandhi with the final vowel of the preceding morpheme, with grammatical close juncture present or absent.

(a) After *i*, the initial (or. type indicator) vowel of the suffix is elided and the *-y* of the first person singular is replaced by zero out of sandhi, but remains in sandhi; the third person singular suffix is replaced by zero: áti breast - áti-# my breast, áti-m your breast, áti-r=a their (d.) breasts; kapé·ti belly - kapé·ti-# my belly, but - kapé·ti-y-ε this belly of mine; mes'en'éti chest - mes'en'éti-# my chest, mes'en'áti-# his chest, mes'en'áti-ṭ-ayl our chests; \* mwírri- after - mwírri-# after me, mwírri-r after them.

(b) After mid vowels, the initial vowel of the first person singular suffix is elided, the third person singular suffix in the case of theme-final *o* follows an *ow-* (sometimes *eww-*) final alternant of the theme, in the case of theme-final *M ε*, *K e* is replaced by zero; type indicator vowels are contracted with the preceding theme-final vowel: \* po- above - po-y above me, pów-ε ~ péww-ε above him, po·-m above you, po·-ṭ above us (excl.); \* mwo- ahead - mwo-y ahead of me, mwów-ε ahead of him, mwó·-r=ayl ahead of them (pl.), mwó·-mw=ayl ahead of you (pl.); *M* \* re-, *K* \* re- at - *M* re-y, *K* re-y at my house, with me, *M* re-#, *K* re-# at his house, with him,

rew-m at your (sg.) house, with you, M ré'-t=ayl, K ré'-  
t=ayl at our house, with us; M \*epwe- usual with - M epwé-y  
usual with me, M épwe-# usual with him, M epwéw-m usual with  
you (sg.), M epwé'-r=ayl usual with them (pl.).

The contraction patterns of  $\epsilon$ -final prepositional stems are not always identical: rew-m at your (sg.) house, with you, M epwéw-m usual with you, but - réw-mw=ayl at your (pl.) house, with you, epwé'-mw=ayl usual with you. The form rew-mw=ayl may be interpreted as analogous with the singular form rew-m where the diphthong ew can be assumed to be the result of the contraction of M  $\epsilon$ , K e o (see 2. 3. 2. 1., case 12); epwé'-mw=ayl, on the contrary, is to be interpreted as the result of the contraction of \* epwe- + -a=mw=ayl (see *ibid.*, case 9).

(c) After low vowels, theme-final and suffix-initial (or type indicator) vowel are contracted to long low vowel:  
\* pa- below - pa'-y below me, pá'-mw=i below you (hon.),  
pá'-r=a below them (d.), pa'-# (<\* pa- + - $\epsilon$ ) below him;  
\* limwa- next to - limwá'-r=a next to them (d.).

(5) When the noun stem té:ueplace is followed by personal possessive suffixes, both undergo considerable morphophonemic variation. té:u takes a w-final alternant tew- before vowel, ~~tew-~~ before consonant, when followed by first and third person singular and all plural personal possessive suffixes, but keeps the base alternant before second person singular (common); first and third person singular suffixes have alternants -ey- and -i- respectively, the type indicator has an alternant - $\epsilon$ = before

word-final first person indicator (=t̥) and is elided in other distributions, after the above-listed alternants of té·u: téw-ey my place, té·u-m your place, téw-i his place, téw-ε=t̥ our (excl.) place, téw-t̥=ayl our (pl. incl.) place, téw-mw=ayl your (pl.) place, téw-r=ayl their (pl.) place.

6.3.4. Personal Possessive Pronouns. These run in two sets: a vowel-initial set, an an n-initial set.

Vowel-initial pronouns are: ay my, first person singular, o-m your, second person singular, ó·-mw-i your, second person singular honorific, M ε·, K a· his, third person singular, a-t̥ our, first person plural-dual exclusive, á-t̥=ayl our, first person plural inclusive, á-t̥-a our, first person dual inclusive, á-mw=ayl your, second person plural, á-mw-a your, second person dual, á-r=ayl their, third person plural, á-r-a their, third person dual, a·-r their, third person plural-dual; your (to highest chiefs).

n-initial pronouns are: M ney, K nay my, first person singular, no·-m your, second person singular, nów-mw-i your, second person singular honorific, na· his, third person singular, M ney-t̥, K nay-t̥ our, first person plural-dual exclusive, M néy-t̥=ayl, K náy-t̥=ayl our, first person plural inclusive, M néy-t̥-a, K náy-t̥-a our, first person dual inclusive, nów-mw=ayl your, second person plural, nów-mw-a your, second person dual, M néy-r=ayl, K náy-r=ayl their, third person plural, M néy-r-a, K



náy-r-a their, third person dual, M ney-r, K nay-r  
their, third person plural-dual; you (to highest  
chiefs).

In both sets, as in personal possessive suffixes (cf. 6. 3. 3. above), first and third persons singular are porte-manteau; second singular (common), first plural-dual exclusive, and third plural-dual consist of possessive type indicator and person indicator; the other suffixes consist of type, person, and number indicators.

The vowel-initial set is identical in morphemic composition, and almost identical in **phonemic** shape, with the personal possessive suffixes described above.

Personal possessive pronouns function as particles before nouns (cf. 9. 2.) and verbs (cf. 9. 3., 11. 2.); both sets are mutually exclusive with personal possessive suffixes, i. e. they do not occur with nouns that take such suffixes. Pronouns of the n-initial <sup>set</sup> precede, in the actor and goal phrase, certain of the other nouns (denoting relatives in descending line, household articles, domestic animals, and the like); pronouns of the vowel-initial set precede, in the actor and goal phrase, the remaining nouns; in addition, the latter are found before verbs in locative goal phrases (cf. 9. 3.) and in subordinate components of hypotactic phrases (cf. 11. 2.): nèy-r-a<sup>ˈ</sup>séri their (d.) child, nèy-r<sup>ˈ</sup>kilá<sup>ˈ</sup>s their glass, ney<sup>ˈ</sup>mó<sup>ˈ</sup>ni my money, ney<sup>ˈ</sup>pwí<sup>ˈ</sup>k my pig,



néy-r-ayl áramas-aka-n their people; ay<sup>ˆ</sup>tótó·k my  
work, ε·<sup>ˆ</sup>pówt his spouse, a·-r<sup>ˆ</sup>lámalam their thinking,  
 a-t<sup>ˆ</sup>káwn our (excl.) lord, also - ni<sup>ˆ</sup>ay<sup>ˆ</sup>mwó·n-ti m-ét<sup>ˆ</sup>  
in my sitting here, sènsel<sup>ˆ</sup>en<sup>ˆ</sup>ó·-mw-i kò·-to<sup>ˆ</sup>pó·npey  
a-sign of your coming to-Ponape.

6.3.5. Noun-like Person Markers. These are:

ɲay I, first person singular, M kówe, K kówe you, second person singular, kó-mw-i you, second person singular honorific, i· he, third person singular, M se, K se, also ki·-t<sup>ˆ</sup> we, first person plural-dual exclusive, ki-t<sup>ˆ</sup>-áyl we, first person plural inclusive, kí-t<sup>ˆ</sup>-a we, first person dual inclusive, kó-mw-áyl you, second person plural, kó-mw-a you, second person dual, i-r-áyl they, third person plural, í-r-a they, third person dual, i·-r they, third person plural-dual; your (to highest chiefs).

First, second (common), and third persons singular are here porte-manteau; first person plural-dual exclusive, and third person plural-dual consist of subject-object type indicator and person indicator; other markers consist of type, person, and number indicators.

As was mentioned in the beginning of this chapter (6.0.), noun-like person markers function as nouns, but with limited distribution: they may constitute certain actor and goal phrases. Of these, noun-like person markers constituting actor phrases before copula action phrases and copula attributive phrases will be discuss-

ed in 10.5.; other phrase distributions will be reserved for a later, more detailed, study.

Semantically, noun-like person markers may perhaps be considered emphatic subject pronouns, similar to, say, French moi, toi, lui: ɲáy<sup>h</sup>me<sup>h</sup>wá<sup>h</sup>-to I (am the one) who brought it, í<sup>h</sup>sá<sup>h</sup>p kòpè-ta<sup>h</sup>má<sup>h</sup>s this (is) the land (they) predicted before, kó-m-# pópowt, ɲáy pópowt you (have) a-wife, I (have) a-wife, í<sup>h</sup>me<sup>h</sup>í<sup>h</sup>lémeleme that (is) what I think, í<sup>h</sup>s kówe who (are) you?

6.4. Summary. As can be seen from the above presentation, person markers function distributionally: (1) as component morphemes or morpheme clusters of verbs and nouns (6.3.1., 6.3.2., 6.3.3.); (2) as particles which form part of actor and goal phrases (6.3.4.); as nouns with limited distribution in certain types of phrases (6.3.5.).

Contrasted with this distributional variety is the fact that corresponding members of different sets are often identical in morphemic composition, and frequently have, in addition, homophonous base alternants. This identity is more pronounced in, though not restricted to, polymorphemic markers. Thus, porte-manteau í<sup>h</sup> he, him belongs to the personal object pronoun, as well as the noun-like person marker, sets; porte-manteau ay my, though homophonous only in the Kiti dialect, belongs to the personal possessive suffix and personal possessive pronoun sets; polymorphemic -ko<sup>h</sup>mw<sup>h</sup>i- you (hon.),

-ki=t- we (excl.), -ki=t=ayl- we (pl.incl.), -ki=t=a-  
we (d.incl.), -ko=mw=áyl- you (pl.), -ko=mw=a you (d.),  
 -i=r=ayl- they (pl.), -i=r=a- they (d.), -i=r they, be-  
 long to the personal subject pronoun; personal object  
 pronoun, as well as noun-like person marker, sets;  
 polymorphemic -o=m(w-) your (sg.), -o=mw=i- your (hon.),  
 -a=t- our (excl.), -a=t=ayl- our (pl.incl.), -a=t=a-  
our (d.incl.), -a=mw=ayl- your (pl.), -a=mw=a- your (d.),  
 -a=r=ayl- their (pl.), -a=r=a- their (d.), -a=r their,  
 belong to the personal possessive suffix, as well as  
 the vowel-initial personal possessive pronoun, sets.  
 In the latter case, though, person markers of identical  
 morphemic composition undergo a number of morphophonemic  
 variations as members of the personal possessive suffix  
 set, (cf. 6. 3. 3. ), where they have but one alternant  
 each as members of the vowel-initial possessive pronouns  
 set.

As can be seen from 6. 1. and 6. 2., the number of  
 actual morphemes involved in the various distributional  
 sets is relatively small; even this restricted number  
 can be further reduced by considering all the markers  
 and component morphemes of markers of the same person  
 and number, as well as the various type indicators,  
 alternants in complementary distribution of the same  
 morphemes. Another possible treatment would be to con-  
 sider the constituent morphemes of each set separate  
 structural units, often homophonous or nearly homo-  
 phonous with corresponding units in other sets.

A compromise treatment, however, such as has been attempted in this study, appears to give the most adequate picture of the situation.

## VII. Morphology: Themes

7.0. Themes are the word nuclei of polymorphemic verbs, nouns, and certain particles (cf. 3.2.3.). In these they are followed by verb or noun suffixes (see chapters IV, V, VI). Semantically, themes tend to be the carriers primarily of the lexical meaning of words, suffixes of the grammatical meaning: in  $sò·n=ti=mwáw-ta·-r$  have become well, the theme  $sò·n=ti=mwáw-$  is the carrier of the lexical meaning of 'well-being', and the suffixes  $-ta·-$  and  $-r$  carriers of the grammatical meanings of 'becoming' and 'completion' respectively.

From the standpoint of morphemic composition, themes may consist of one, or of several, morphemes. Distributionally, themes occur as parts of verbs, nouns, and certain particles. Morphemic composition and distribution are not wholly contingent upon each other - many themes of identical morphemic composition may occur as parts of words of different classes:  $kápwaṭ$  garment -  $kápwaṭ-aka-n$  (noun theme, suffixes) garments,  $kapwáṭ-ki$  (verb theme, suffix) be clothed in.

Morphemes which by themselves may constitute themes are called stems. Single-morpheme themes consist of stems:  $kílaṭ-áta$  (verb theme = verb stem, suffix) see,  $ó·l-aka$  (noun theme = noun stem, suffix) men. Polymorphemic themes



are of three types - geminate themes which are morpheme clusters consisting of two stems of the same distributional type; derivative themes which are morpheme clusters consisting of a stem plus one or more thematic affixes; compound themes are morpheme clusters consisting of 'demoted' phrases (and sometimes sentences) : palì=wer-éy-et (geminate theme = stem + stem, noun suffixes) this body of mine, kà-pwar-é'-ta (derivative theme = thematic prefix + stem + thematic suffix, verb suffix) show, bl=en=wáy-ka-n (compound theme = 'demoted' phrase, noun suffixes) foreigners, wìya=mwómwi-la (compound theme = 'demoted' sentence, verb suffix) change into a fish. Some derivative themes consist of thematic affixes added to a 'demoted' phrase or sentence of the type that would form a compound theme. Such themes are here called compound derivative themes: ka=ynsén=amwàw-iyé'-ta (compound derivative theme = thematic prefix + 'demoted' phrase, verb suffixes) satisfy me.

Stems and derivative phrases may undergo reduplication: mwó·n-ti (single stem, verb suffix) sit down - mómwo·t (reduplicated stem) be sitting; ka=ynsén-amwaw (single compound derivative theme) satisfy, kà-n=ka-nsén-amwaw (reduplicated compound derivative theme) be satisfying.

Reduplication may affect derivative themes in two ways - the entire theme may undergo reduplication, as above, or the stem alone, and thematic affixes are then

in sequence with the reduplicated stem to constitute the (unreduplicated) theme: *kà-mwə=ko-mwəŋə* (reduplicated derivative theme) be feeding, but - *ka-kólokol* (unreduplicated derivative theme = thematic prefix + reduplicated stem) cause to be holding. Occasionally, both a reduplicated derivative theme and the corresponding unreduplicated derivative theme containing a reduplicated stem are found: *kà-mwi-ká-mwir* (reduplicated theme; poetic), also *ka-mwirimwir* (unreduplicated theme = thematic prefix + reduplicated stem) be taking leave.

Semantically, reduplication marks a less definite, scattered, non-completive action or state of facts, roughly comparable in verbs to the imperfective aspect in Slavic or the progressive forms in English: *lemé'-ta* think - *lémeleme* be thinking, figuring, *sa'p land* - *sápwasap* (scattered) landholdings, *lawt large, old* - *láwtelawt* real old, 'old all over'.

Reduplication is here considered a morphological process rather than a 'morpheme'; the latter term is in this study reserved for actual sequences of phonemes constituting meaningful units, rather than the dynamic changes these sequences undergo, however meaningful the latter may be. A morphological process, in the sense of this analysis, would then be the substitution of one meaningful sequence of phonemes - morpheme - for another, rather than the addition of a dynamic 'morpheme' of change to a static

morpheme of a certain phonemic composition. The static concept of the phonemic shape of morphemes, used throughout this study, would certainly not be applicable to a 'morpheme' of dynamic change; if for no other reason than for the sake of the consistent use of that concept, reduplication therefore is here considered a process, rather than an entity. Consequently, instead of analyzing a reduplicated morpheme as a morpheme of reduplication added to an unreduplicated morpheme, it is here analyzed as reduplicated morpheme substituted for unreduplicated morpheme.

Reduplicated forms then are here treated as identical in the number of morphemes with the corresponding unreduplicated forms: a reduplicated stem is considered a single morpheme; a reduplicated derivative theme is considered to consist of as many morphemes as are contained in the corresponding unreduplicated theme. Hyphens and double hyphens are therefore not placed between the repeats of reduplicated stems; in the case of reduplicated themes, double hyphens are used at the point of reduplication if it coincides with a morpheme boundary in the unreduplicated form: pwilipwil-kí--la being soiled by it, ka-kólokol cause to be holding, kò-mwo=ko-mwóŋe be feeding.

Reduplication processes will be discussed in 7. 3. below.

#### 7. 1. Stems.

Stems occur as parts of, or may

constitute, verbs, nouns, and verb-like, noun-like, and ad-nominal particles. Verb-like particles are those few that may include certain verb suffixes, noun-like particles are those which may include noun suffixes (noun-like prepositions), ad-nominal particles are paired with nouns in actor and goal phrases (adjectives, numerals, demonstratives). For phraseological details, see 9. 2., 9. 3., cf. also 3. 3.

Verb-like particle stems and most prepositional stems, are restricted to those word classes only; a few prepositional stems occur as parts of verbs as well (preposition-verb stems): pwé·-ki (verb-like particle stem, verb suffix) because\_of, mp-á=r=ayl (prepositional stem, personal possessive noun suffix) next\_to\_them, but - mwirrí·-ti (preposition-verb stem, verb suffix) move\_backwards.

Verbs and nouns sometimes have separate stems, sometimes they may share stems - i. e. the same verb-noun stem may take both verb and noun suffixes: pwék-áta (verb stem, verb suffix) lift\_up, ó·l-aka (noun stem, noun suffix) men, but - totó·ŋ-ki (verb-noun stem, verb suffix) work\_at\_it, totó·ŋ-ka-n (verb-noun stem, noun suffixes) labors.

Many adjective stems occur as parts of verbs as well (adjective-verb stems): súwet bad - súwet-ikf·-ta (adjective-verb stem, verb suffixes) feel\_bad\_about\_it, lúwet weak - lúwetí-la·-r has\_become\_weak.



A large number of stems undergo morphophonemic variations of the types discussed in chapter II. As was mentioned in that chapter, some of these variations (automatic morpheme-final variations, 2.3.1.3.) affect all morphemes under certain phonemic conditions, other variations affect only certain morphemes and have to be listed individually for each stem. Such a listing would rightly form part of a Ponapean dictionary.

7.2. Derivative Themes. Derivative themes contain a stem or compound theme plus one or more thematic affixes. From the standpoint of affixation, stems and compound themes function identically within derivative theme; in the ensuing discussion 'stem' will stand for both.

Thematic affixes are of two basic types: those which primarily change the word class of stems to which they are added, <sup>- class changers,</sup> and those which, while they occasionally may affect the word class of the stem to which they are added, do not primarily have that function - derivative affixes. Class changers are verbalizers, adjectivizers, and nominalizers. Derivative affixes are causative, negative, activizers, and emphatic.

Of the class changers, verbalizers occur with noun stems, prepositional stems, and some few person markers; adjectivizers occur in sequence with verb stems; nominalizers occur with verb stems. They are discussed in 7.2.1. below.

Of the derivative affixes, the causative occurs



with verb, noun, adjectival, and numeral stems; the negative occurs with verb, noun, and adjective stems; activizers occur with verb, noun, and adjective stems; emphatic affixes seem to occur primarily with adjective stems, but also with some noun stems. They are treated in 7.2.2.

A few additional thematic affixes were found which, for lack of a sufficient number of examples, can not be definitely assigned to either of the two types mentioned above, or be said to for a type of their own. These will be listed as unclassified thematic affixes in 7. 2. 3. below.

7. 2. 1. Class Changers. The verbalizer is a suffix =Vn, where V stands for a, o, ɔ, i, or is subject to bilateral sandhi; the adjectivizer is a suffix =Vn- with similar morphophonemics; the nominalizers are a prefix li= and a suffix M =pe-, K =pa-.

The verbalizer suffix =Vn- has an alternant =in- after labial-final stems with sandhi alternants with (see 2. 3. 1. 2., (case 1), 2. 3., case 1) epenthetic w<sub>^</sub> alternants assonating with the stem vowel after other consonant-final stems, and contracted or elided alternants (cf. 2. 3. 2.) after vowel- and diphthong-final stems. Grammatical close juncture (cf. 2. 6., chapter XIII) links stem and verbalizer. Verb themes containing verbalizers are often followed by the instrumental suffix of the first position (cf. 4. 1.): sa'p land - sápw=in-iki own land, at name - at=án-iki be\_called, \* likos bad mood - likos=ón-ta

be in a bad mood, so·r looks - sor=on=kí·-ta take the  
looks of, dress up as, epwe- usual with - epwé·=n-iki  
be used to, M ney, K <sup>my</sup>náy<sub>^</sub> - náy=n-iki own, and M e·, K a·  
his - á·=n-iki own.

Alternant distribution of the adjectivizer suffix  
 =Vn- appears to parallel that of the verbalizer to some  
 extent, including the occurrence of grammatical close  
 juncture, but alternants M =en-, K =en- and =an- fre-  
 quently appear instead of alternants with assonated  
 vowel: semantically, the adjectivizer seems to mark  
 abundance of the entity denoted by the preceding stem:  
 pi·l water - pí·l-en rich in water, mwa·m fish - mwómw-en  
rich in fish, lí·q glow - lí·q-an beautiful (lit.: rich in  
glow), pwo·r hole - pwór-on·full of holes, tú·ke tree -  
 túke·ín tree-rich, sé·u sugar cane - sé·u-n cane-rich,  
 ámwíse mosquito - ámwíse-n full of mosquitoes.

As can be seen from the above, verbalizer and ad-  
 jectivizer are practically homophonous, but they are  
 considered separate morphemes because of the different  
 distributions of the themes of which they form part.

Nominalizer prefix li= has but one alternant: pírap  
steal - lí-pirap thief.

Nominalizer suffix M =pe-, K =pa- has a sandhi  
 alternant with prosthetic vowel: M =ape-, K =apa-,  
 after consonant- and semivowel-final stems; it under-  
 goes bilateral sandhi (cf. 2.3.2.) with ensuing vowel  
 before vowel-initial morphemes: M wíye, K wíya do - M

wíye-pe, K wíya-pa the thing to do about it, but -  
 káwtek-epe inquiry (of highest chief's), kósoy tell -  
 kósoy-epe<sup>n</sup> lákintú·wey the story of Lakintuhwey (a  
mythical character).

Semantically, the nominalizer prefix appears to mark the habitual performer of the action denoted by the ensuing stem, the nominalizer suffix seems to mark the result of the action denoted by the preceding stem (see above).

7. 2. 2. Derivative Suffixes. The causative is the prefix ka=; the negative is the prefix sa=, the activizers are the suffixes I M =e-, K =e- ~ =a- ~ =i-, and II -k-; the emphatic is the suffix =akan.

The causative prefix ka= has a free alternant ke= in unstressed position (cf. 2. 4.): ka=mé'-la ~ ke=mé'-la kill. Before numeral stems, the causative prefix functions semantically as an ordinal marker: ka-ríya=w ~ ke-ríya=w second.

The three alternants of activizer suffix I, M =e-, K =e-, =a-, and =i- are in complementary distribution with regard to the stems they follow. Alternant =a- has a free variant =e- in unstressed position (cf. above and 2. 4.); all three undergo non-word-final lengthening (cf. 2. 5.) before most consonant- and semivowel-initial morphemes; in addition, alternant M =e-, K =e- undergoes bilateral sandhi with vowel of ensuing verb suffix of the fifth position -oŋ- (but cf. alternative possibil-

ities of analysis in 4.5.): i<sup>h</sup>mwátaŋ=á'-ti á'nsow  
I came-in time, but - mwátaŋ-e make it fast; mwatoŋ=  
 é-yra play with them, but - konot=é'-la partake of  
konot offering; kàmatipw=á'-ir make a feast for them,  
 but - kosoy=á'-way tell you; popwet=f become infatuated,  
 but - ilak=f'-la send there; kól-e hold on, but - kól=ε'-ŋ  
hold on to. Occasionally, the same verb stem may be  
 followed by both alternants M =ε-, K =e- and =a- of  
 activizer I: kàmatipw=ε-iráyɪ and kàmatipw=á'-ir give  
a feast for them.

Activizer II -k- has but one alternant: lsi=k-áta  
burn it, màsa=k-áta'-r became afraid.

The negative prefix sa= is in bilateral sandhi  
 with the initial vowel of ensuing vowel-initial stems:  
 sa-kátek unfriendly, but - M sé'-se, K sá'-sa (sa + M  
 ése, K ása) don't know, sa'-n (sa + a'n) unused to.

The causative prefix is found preceding verb,  
 noun, adjective, and numeral stems, and compound themes.  
 In sequence with noun stems not followed by derivative  
 suffixes the resulting derivative themes are noun themes;  
 in sequence with numeral stems the resulting themes are  
 ordinals - a type of ad-nominal particles; in sequence  
 with other stems and compound themes the resulting themes  
 are verb themes: ká-ya'n habit, but - ka-yá'n-e acquaint,  
 ka-síla third; ka=táwre-la continue, ka-wéyt-suwet se-  
duce (lit.: cause a bad path).

Both activizers occur as parts of verb themes  
 only, irrespective of the stems they follow.



Derivative themes containing the negative suffix belong to the distributional class of the stems they contain.

The causative and activizer I, as well as the two activizers, may co-occur as parts of the same derivative theme. In these cases of co-occurrence, activizer II always precedes activizer I: né'=k=ε'-ŋ (verb stem, activizer II, activizer I, verb suffix) distribute to; kè=pwent=á'-la (causative, verb stem, activizer I, verb suffix) delay, miss, ke=liŋ=á'-ta make glitter, see glittering, kà=ynen=é'-la straighten out.

The emphatic suffix -akan has but one alternant; it may follow adjective or noun stems. The resulting theme is adjectival: sákan bad - sákan-ákan bad; pwákan dirt - pwákan-ákan dirty.

7.2.3. Unclassified Thematic Affixes. These are =sak-, with an unstressed free variant =sek-, and εtak- with a sandhi alternant =atak- after consonant-final morphemes, found as part of both verb and noun themes; =sak- in addition may co-occur with the causative ka=: ka=imwi=sak-ála ~ ka=ym=sak-ála finish, pwéri-sak fan, devotee, pwóri-sak diligent person; wuki=ták-eti lie on one's belly (lit.: change downward), pir-áatak summit.

7.3. Reduplication. Reduplication affects both stems and derivative themes, including compound derivative themes (cf. 7.0.). With regard to word



class, both verb, noun, and adjective stems may undergo reduplication. Of the six reduplication types listed and described below, the first two affect stems of all three of these classes, the other four only verb stems or verbal derivative themes.

Type I: Doubling. Reduplication here consists in repeating the entire morpheme. This type occurs in both verb, noun, and adjective stems with one or two vocalic nuclei: léyley be hammering, lémeleme be thinking, sówsow grave, tomb, réyrey long.

Morphophonemic processes at points of reduplication parallel those in sandhi: dissimilation of contiguous identical p, t, k (cf. 2. 3. 1. 3.); prosthetic y between i-final and a-initial repeats (cf. 2. 3. 1. 1., case 2): pámpap swim; ániyañi strong, healthy.

Type II: Doubling with Connecting Vowel. Reduplication here consists in repeating the entire morpheme, with insertion of a connecting vowel between repeats. This vowel often, but not always, is identical with the stem vowel. This type occurs in consonant-final verb, noun, and adjective stems with one vocalic nucleus. It may be considered a variant of type I with sandhi vowel between the two repeats: pwólopwol be embracing, pápapañ long side, mótomot short, but - pwékipwek be hanging up, líñaliñ glory.

Reduplicated stems of types I and II may be in sequence with thematic affixes to constitute derivative themes: lóllol-e be loving, ka-kólokol cause to be hold-

ing, li-máŋemaŋ lungs.

In many cases, reduplicated forms of types I and II of verb stems constitute noun stems - i. e. reduplication is here used to form what may be called verbal nouns: píl-ata choose - pílípíl choice, election, \* lík trust, have faith - líkílik trustee-ship, trust.

Type III: Doubling with Lengthening. Reduplication here consists in repeating the entire morpheme, with lengthening of the vocalic nucleus of the first repeat. This type occurs in a few vowel-final verb stems with one vocalic nucleus: né·ne be distributed, mí·mí be there.

Type IV: Repeat of First Vowel and Adjacent Consonant. Reduplication here consists in repeating the first vowel plus preceding or - if no consonant precedes it - following consonant. This type occurs in verb stems, some verb-noun stems, and some derivative themes, with <sup>verb</sup>one, <sup>one,</sup>two, and occasionally more than two, vocalic nuclei: kà·ká·lèk be dancing, iŋíŋiyèk be crouching; be peering at.

When the vocalic nucleus of the stem is a diphthong, only the syllabic vowel occurs in the first repeat: ké·kəyt be walking around, má·mawk be weeping.

Short stem vowels are often lengthened in the second repeat: eké·ker be calling, íní·nim be cooking.

Conversely, long stem vowels are often shorten-

ed in the first repeat: niní·tuwel be changing skins,  
pipí·r-seli be flying around, tóto·k be working: work.  
 This shortening sometimes occurs together with reduction  
 of diphthong to single vowel (see above): mómwo·t  
be sitting.

The above two changes in vowel quantity both tend  
 to produce the identical rhythmic result: short first  
 nucleus followed by long second.

Morphemes with initial consonant followed by n re-  
 peat all three initial phonemes: ṭanṭénir weep (of high-  
est chiefs), nànnanṭí·yon be making an effort, kà-n=ka-  
nsèn-amwáw-i be satisfying.

Finally, as a type of sandhi between repeats, vowel  
 with following labial followed by w is repeated: apwápwal-i  
be taking care of.

Type V: Repeat of First Two Vowels with Initial  
and Intermediate Consonants. Reduplication here  
 consists in repeating the entire morpheme up to and  
 including the second vowel. This type occurs in verb  
 stems and derivative <sup>verb</sup> themes with two or more vocalic  
 nuclei: mwòrrromworrór-ki be talking much about, ṭèmetémen  
be remembering, kò-mwo=ko-mwotór-ɛ be making (them) play,  
kàpakapáytek be listening. Long second vowel of the  
 stem is shortened in the first repeat: mwàsamwása·n  
be looking.

Type VI: Repeat of First Vowel with Adjacent Con-  
sonants Followed by Connecting Vowel. Reduplication

here consists in repeating the entire morpheme up to and including the consonant following the first vowel, and linking the two repeats by a connecting vowel similar to the one in type II. Type VI affects verb stems and some derivative verb themes with two, sometimes more than two, vocalic nuclei: píripírap be stealing, lòkolokáya be talking, àlcalu-séli be walking around. As a type of sandhi, labial with w following the first vowel are repeated: tipwetipwóŋe be keeping someone's head on one's arm, simwisímwok be smoking, kà-mwa=ka-mwóŋe be feeding.

7. 4. Compound Themes. As was stated in 7. 0., compound themes consist of phrases and sentences 'demoted' to morpheme clusters. Above all, two types of phrases are involved, though other types are found as well: noun expressions (cf. 9. 2. 1.) consisting of noun followed by adjective, and hypotactic actor phrases (cf. 11. 2.) with two nouns or quasi-nouns linked by the hypotactic particle M en, K en. Both main types occur as both verb and noun themes: insen=súwet-iki (compound theme = 'demoted' noun expression, verb suffix) be dissatisfied, mɛ=láwt-aka-n (compound theme = 'demoted' noun expression, noun suffix) the large ones; wíriwirr=en=aní'-la (compound theme = 'demoted' hypotactic actor phrase, verb suffix) changed voice to a ghost's, K kis=in=mwóŋo-ka (compound theme = 'demoted' hypotactic actor phrase, noun suffix) bits of food.

Other examples show locative goal phrases (cf. 9.3.) and



action-goal sentences (cf. 12.1.) 'demoted' to compound themes: nan=pwé·l-iti (compound theme = 'demoted' locative goal phrase, verb suffix) be buried, i^pèrek=iráp-iti (compound theme = 'demoted' action-goal sentence, verb suffix) I spread-out-underpinnings.

Compound derivative phrases consist of 'demoted' noun expressions, to which one or more thematic affixes have been added: ka-wéyt=suwet seduce, ka-ynsén=amwàw satisfy.

## VIII. Morphology: Classifiers, Numerals,

### Demonstratives

8.0. Classifiers are morphemes that function as numeral suffixes and demonstrative stems: ryá-pwoť (numeral stem, classifier = numeral suffix) two (of oblong objects), pwóť-etť (classifier = demonstrative stem, demonstrative suffix) this (of oblong objects). Numerals and demonstratives, in turn, function in the phrase as ad-nominal particles (cf. 3.3., 9.2.): ò·kə́·ryá-pwoť two trees, ò·kə́·pwóť-etť this tree.

Numeral stems and classifiers often also co-occur before demonstrative suffixes. In these instances, both function as stems forming a geminate numeral-demonstrative stem (cf. 7.0.); the resulting numeral demonstratives function as ad-nominal particles as well: ò·l·ryé=men-etť these two men.

Finally, classifiers may in some cases by themselves constitute ad-nominal particles. In these cases, the classifier semantically functions as an indefinite numeral 'one' (often best rendered in English by the indefinite article), contrasting with the definite numeral 'one' consisting of the appropriate numeral stem and the classifier used as a numeral suffix: só·m·pwóť a ship, but - só·p ó-pwoť one ship, serí·men a child, séri é-men one child. In other cases, the definite numeral

'one' serves as indefinite numeral as well; the difference then is one of stress: ó·l<sup>ˆ</sup>e-men a\_man, but - ó·l é-men one\_man. Presence and absence of numeral stem 'one' in the indefinite numeral 'one' depend to some extent on sandhi conditions.

An additional semantic differentiation of the numeral 'one' is phraseological, but may be quoted here for the sake of contrast with the previous - numeral 'one' preceding the noun in the phrase has the semantic function of what may be called a 'diffuse' numeral, roughly corresponding to English 'some' or 'some sort of': è-men<sup>ˆ</sup>ó·l some man, some sort of man, è·uîrá·n one day, à-pwot<sup>ˆ</sup>síka a cigarette, any cigarette.

Demonstrative suffixes added to classifiers are identical with demonstrative noun suffixes (5.3.); before these suffixes, vowel-final classifiers have sandhi alternants with epenthetic y, and some consonant-final classifiers sandhi alternants with epenthetic iy: é-te one (of leaves), te·y-et this (of leaves); é-wel one (of plants), weliy-et this (of plants). Sandhi alternants will be listed, and additional morphophonemics discussed, in the treatment of individual classifiers in 8.2. below.

Numeral stems preceding classifiers take different morpheme alternants depending on the ensuing classifier; classifiers are, however, limited in occurrence to lower numerals 1 - 9; higher numerals - i. e. those denoting higher decimal units such as

10, 100, 1000 - take no suffixes and function in turn as numeral suffixes added to lower-numeral stems to form compound numerals - i. e. those denoting multiples of higher decimal units such as 20, 300, 4000. Numerals will be listed and distributional details stated in 8.1. below.

Classifiers are in complementary distribution: each occurs with, and marks, nouns of a certain class to which sometimes certain semantic characteristics may be assigned. Previous investigators (L. A. Gulick, Max Girschner, Paul Hambruch) have observed this grouping of nouns into quasi-semantic classes, and natives are quite conscious of the semantic characteristics of noun classes. Detailed analysis shows, however, that the semantic qualities assigned by natives to certain noun classes do not cover all the nouns of the class in question equally well - this difficulty may, incidentally, be overcome by regarding class meanings not as qualities associated with nouns of the given class, but as a conception of nouns 'in terms of' certain qualities. Thus, classifier -pwót- associated with the quality of 'oblongness' is used with the noun kowl song as well: kòwl<sup>^</sup> pwót-ət̚ this song; it could then be said that a song, by virtue of its duration in time, is 'conceived of' as oblong. How far-fetched this is remains, of course, a matter of opinion; class-meaning will, at any rate, be quoted and deviant cases indicated, in the listing of classifiers in 8.2.



In support of class meanings, on the other hand, is the fact that several classifiers are restricted to classes of one noun each, and are homophonous with the noun of that class - they may, indeed, be considered nouns 'demoted' to classifiers: tun bundle (of food) - tùn'en'mwóm'tun a bundle of fish.

Certain not too common classifiers are in conversational speech replaced by more common ones, where in careful speech or poetic language (traditional song texts, narratives) they are still in use: ì'en'ú.t'ì (careful, poetic) ~ ì'en'ú.t'iyè-w a bunch of bananas.

Contrary to this overlapping of noun-class boundaries are a few special cases in which different classifiers (M -men-, K -man- and -u-) in sequence with the same noun ('spouse', 'friend') are used to underline a definite semantic distinction (between an 'animate' individual and a 'pseudo-inanimate' grouping, i. e. a couple): pòpowt'é-men one spouse - pòpowt'iyè-w a married couple; píryen'è-men a friend - píryen'iyò-w a couple of friends, two friends together.

8.1. Numeral Stems. Numeral stems can be grouped both distributionally and semantically as lower-numeral stems - used to designate numbers 1 - 9 - which are bound forms but function only as stems, and higher-numeral stems - used to denote higher decimal units such as 10, 100, 1000, 10000, 100,000, 1.000.000 - which occur as

free forms, but function as suffixes as well as stems.

8.1.1. Lower-Numeral Stems. These occur in two distribution patterns: (1) preceded by a word-formative prefix the resulting numerals are enumeratives; i. e. they are free forms used in counting; in addition, enumeratives 1 - 5 function as nouns with limited distribution to denote days of the week Monday - Friday; (2) followed by a classifier or higher-numeral stem functioning as a numeral suffix the resulting numerals are ad-nominal particles; ad-nominal numerals containing classifier -u- (see 8.2.1.1.) are used for counting as well, and in that case function as free forms.

In addition, ad-nominal numerals may function as quasi-nouns in locative goal phrases after locative particle ni in: mì·mì<sup>h</sup>ni<sup>h</sup>é-lep stays in one piece, málek lím-men ni<sup>h</sup>ú-tun five chickens in one (bundle). Finally, the ad-nominal numeral 'one' of the -men- class (cf. 8.2.2.1.) may function as a quasi-noun in both actor and goal phrases: é-men<sup>h</sup>mùrr mwàkar-éw<sup>h</sup> è-men one (is) just angry-at the-other; likewise, the ad-nominal numeral 'one' of the -kis- class occurs as an ad-verbal particle, and as a free form, meaning 'a little': i<sup>h</sup>murr<sup>h</sup>è-kis<sup>h</sup>ése I just know a little (lit.: a-little know); é-kis a little bit.

Each lower-numeral stem has several morpheme alternants depending on the adjacent affix. However, two basic sets of alternants may be distinguished: a post-

prefix set found in enumeratives after the word-formative prefix a- ~ M e-, K a- ~ e-, and a pre-suffix set found in ad-nominal numerals before classifiers.

The post-prefix set includes only one alternant each per numeral stem 2 - 9; the enumerative 'one' is a porte-manteau morpheme: M e·t, K a·t one, á-ri two, é-sil three, M é-peŋ, K á-peŋ four, á-lim five, á-wen six, é-ys seven, M é-wel, K á-wel eight, á-tu nine.

The pre-suffix set, on the other hand, includes several alternants for each lower-numeral stem. These alternants, however, may be reduced to one or two base alternants per stem subject to various sandhi variations entailing additional changes in phonemic shape, but correlated with phonemic conditions at points of sandhi and consequently semi-automatic. These base alternants and sandhi variations affecting them are: V- one, in many cases in assonance (cf. 2. 6. 4.) with vocalic nucleus of ensuing classifier; ry- ~ riy- two, in most cases followed by sandhi vowel; sil- three, in most cases followed by sandhi vowel which in turn may in some cases be subject to bilateral sandhi; pa- four, in some cases followed by sandhi semivowel, in others subject to bilateral sandhi; lim- five, in most cases followed by sandhi vowel; wen- ~ won- six, in most cases followed by sandhi vowel; is- seven, in most cases followed by sandhi vowel which in turn may

in some cases be subject to bilateral sandhi; M wel-, K wal- ~ wel- ~ wal- eight, in many cases followed by sandhi vowel; tuw- nine, in many cases followed by sandhi vowel. In addition, an epenthetic y is sometimes inserted between vowel-final sandhi alternant of the above-mentioned set and vowel-initial classifier. Morphophonemic details of pre-suffix alternants of lower-numeral stems will be given in the listing of the latter with higher-numeral and classifier suffixes in 8. 1. 2. and 8. 2. respectively.

Similarities in phonemic shape between the two sets of alternants are considerable: post-prefix alternant -sil and pre-suffix sil- three are homophonous, so are post-prefix -lim and pre-suffix lim- five; post-prefix -wen is homophonous with one of pre-suffix base alternants wen- ~ won- six, so is post-prefix M -wel, K -wal with one of pre-suffix M wel-, K wal- ~ wel- ~ wal- eight; post-prefix -ri and pre-suffix ry- ~ riy- two show little difference beyond that expected in different phonemic environments (out of sandhi - sandhi), the same is the case with post-prefix -ys and pre-suffix is- seven, as well as with post-prefix -tu and pre-suffix tuw- nine. On the other hand, post-prefix -peŋ and pre-suffix pa- vary in phonemic shape on the basis of no recognizable morphophonemic process.

8. 1. 2. Higher-Numeral Stems. The higher-numeral stem 'ten' has three alternants in comple-



mentary distribution: each alternant occurs in sequence with nouns of a different group of classes; other higher-numeral stems have but one base alternant each: M éysek, K éysak ~ M e·k, K e·k ~ nowl ten, M épuki, K épuki hundred, ki·t thousand, M nen, K nen ten thousand, lop hundred thousand, rarr million. The last three of these, M nen, K nen, lop, and rarr, as well as compound numerals formed with them, are not very frequent.

Numerals M éysek, K éysak ten, M épuki, K épuki hundred undergo elision of initial vowel or contraction in bilateral sandhi after vowel-final morpheme; numeral ki·t thousand has an alternant with shortened vowel: -kit̃, in grammatical close juncture with adjacent morpheme. Examples will be given below in listing compound numerals.

Distributionally, higher-numeral stems may occur: (1) as free forms, cited above, functioning as both enumeratives and ad-nominal particles; (2) as numeral suffixes added to lower-numeral stems to form compound numerals denoting the multiples of higher decimal units.

Compound numerals, showing alternants of lower-numeral stems and higher-numeral suffixes, are listed below in order of the latter.

With higher-numeral suffix M -éysek, K éysak ten:  
 M riy-éysek, K riy-éysak twenty, M silí·-sek, K silí·-sak  
 (sili- + M -eysek, K -éysak) thirty, M pá·y-sek, K pá·y-sak  
 (pa·- + M -éysek, K -éysak) forty, M lim-éysek, K lim-éysak fifty,  
 M wen-éysek, K wen-éysak sixty, M isi·-sek, K isi·-sak  
 (isi- + M -éysek, K -éysak) seventy, M



wal-éysek, K wal-éysak eighty, M tuw-éysek, K tuw-éysak ninety.

Higher-numeral suffix M -e·k, K -e·k ten has an alternant of rather deviant phonemic shape: -akan, after lower-numeral stems 'three', 'seven', and 'eight'; in other distributions, sandhi morphophonemics prevail: síliy-akan thirty, ísiy-akan seventy, wáliy-akan eighty, but - M ríy-e·k, K ríy-e·k twenty, M pá·y-e·k, K pá·y-e·k forty, M lím-e·k, K lím-e·k fifty, M wén-e·k, K wén-e·k sixty, M túw-e·k, K túw-e·k ninety.

With higher-numeral suffix -nowl ten (no Kiti forms were obtained): ríye-nowl twenty, síli-nowl thirty, pá'-nowl forty, lím-nowl fifty, wéne-nowl sixty, ísi-nowl seventy, wáli-nowl eighty, túwe-nowl ninety.

This higher-numeral suffix is also found after the enumerative stem kata- to form the enumerative numeral katá-nowl ten. For other enumeratives, see 8.1.1.

With higher numeral suffix -epuki hundred (no Kiti forms were obtained): ríy-epuki two hundred, síli-puki (síli-+ -epuki) three hundred, pá'-puki (pá'- + -epuki) four hundred, lím-epuki five hundred, wén-epuki six hundred, ísi-puki (ísi-+ -epuki) seven hundred, wál-epuki eight hundred, túw-epuki nine hundred.

With higher numeral suffix -kit (juncture alternant of ki·t) thousand (no Kiti forms were obtained): ryá-kit two thousand, síli-kit three thousand, pá'-kit four thousand, lím-kit five thousand, wón-kit six thousand, ísi-kit seven thousand, wáli-kit eight thousand.

and, túwa-kit nine thousand.

With higher-numeral suffixes -nen then thousand, -lop hundred thousand, -rarr million, lower-numeral stems take the same alternants as before -kit thousand above (no Kiti forms were obtained): ryá-nen twenty thousand, pá'-lop four hundred thousand, túwa-rarr nine million.

Complex numerals consist of two or more simple or compound numerals of different decimal status in juxtaposition, serving as an enumerative or ad-nominal cluster: ll'·é·k'ryé-men twelve women, pà·y-sék'ís-u forty seven, síl-epuki síliy-akan síli-men three hundred thirty three.

8.2. Classifiers. As was mentioned in 8.1.2. above, higher-numeral stem 'ten' has three base alternants used with a different group of noun classes each. Classifiers can therefore be grouped in terms of the alternant of that stem used with nouns of their class into an éysek group, an é·k group, and a ŋowl group, each containing several classifiers, some of them less common than others and occasionally supplanted by more common ones (cf. 8.0.).

8.2.1. éysek classifiers. These are, in order of the approximate frequency of their occurrence: -u-, -pwot-, -pak-, -sup-, -pali-, -mwiṭ-, -el-, (no Kiti forms recorded), -sow-, -piṭ-, -i'-.

8. 2. 1. 1. Classifier -u- has a nonsyllabic sandhi alternant -w- before demonstrative suffixes and after numeral stems ending in short vowels; it has limited distribution with regard to the former, occurring only before demonstrative suffix M -et̚, K -et̚: M w-et̚, K w-et̚ this; é·-u one, ríya-w two, síl-u three, pá·y-u four, líma-w five, wéno-w (wene- + -u ?) six, ís-u seven, wál-u eight, túwa-w nine.

Numeral é·-u one is used in counting and as a definite numeral 'one', as well as in sequence before the noun in the phrase; a contracted alternant e-w serves as indefinite numeral 'one' and has in turn sandhi alternants ye-w ~ yə-w after vowel-final, and iye-w ~ iyo-w after some consonant-final morphemes: é·-u, ríya-w, síl-u, pá·y-u... one, two, three, four... (counting), è·uʳá·n one day, some day, àwaʳé·-u one hour, one o'clock, but -tó·lʳe-w a hill, sò·ŋʳmwáwʳyè-w a good way, ú·t̚ʳiyè-w a banana. Other numerals of this class have but one alternant each.

Numerals of the -u- class may in addition follow the causative prefix ka- (cf. 7. 2. 2.) to form ordinal numerals which function as ad-nominal particles: pwì·nʳka-ríya=w second pwihn (group of sections in a district), kà·yyé=w! (interjectional doubling of semivowel) first (rate)!, rà·nʳka-ís=u the seventh day.

-u- is the most modern of all classifiers; some native speakers as well as Max Girschner assign the semantic characteristic of roundness to nouns of this class, but the -u- class in actuality includes inanimate

nouns of all semantic types, as well as some animate nouns viewed as pseudo-inanimate group designations (see 8. 0.): pà·rək̂é·-u one share, wì·k̂ríya-w two weeks, pòpòwt̂w-ét̂ this married-couple.

8. 2. 1. 2. Classifier -pwot̂- has but one alternant; numeral stem 'one', however, has two variants before -pwot̂-; a- and o- in free variation; other numeral stems and demonstrative suffixes adjacent to -pwot̂- have but one alternant each: pwót̂-et̂ this, pwót̂-en that (near you), pwót̂-o that (near him), cf. 5. 3.; á-pwot̂ ~ ó-pwot̂ one, ryá-pwot̂ two, síli-pwot̂ three, pá·-pwot̂ four, lím-pwot̂ five, wóno-pwot̂ six, ísi-pwot̂ seven, wéli-pwot̂ eight, túwo-pwot̂ nine.

-pwot̂- is used by itself as an indefinite numeral 'one' after certain nouns where sandhi conditions are favorable; in other cases, á-pwot̂ ~ ó-pwot̂ serves as both indefinite and definite numeral 'one' (cf. 8. 0.): só·m̂pwòt̂ a ship, tú·k̂e·pwòt̂ a tree, but - wá·r̂a-pwot̂ a canoe, - wà·r̂á-pwot̂ one canoe.

Numerals of the -pwot̂- class may in addition follow the causative ka- (cf. 7. 2. 2. and 8. 2. 1. 1. above) to form ordinal numerals which function as ad-nominal particles: kòwl̂ka-ryá=pwot̂ the second song.

The -pwot̂- class can be assigned a semantic characteristic of oblongness, but many nouns belonging to this class can be said to denote oblong objects only metaphorically, if at all: mé·l̂el̂o-pwot̂ a truth,



líkam<sup>ˈ</sup>pwòt̚ a<sup>ˈ</sup>lie, kówl<sup>ˈ</sup>pwòt̚-et̚ this song, but also -  
 só·m-pi·r<sup>ˈ</sup>pwòt̚ an airplane, sika<sup>ˈ</sup>ryá-pwòt̚ two cigarettes,  
 tù·ke<sup>ˈ</sup>pá<sup>ˈ</sup>-pwòt̚ four trees.

8. 2. 1. 3. Classifier -pak- has but one alternant; it has limited distribution: -pak- is found only after numeral stems, in standard phrases where the resulting multiplicative numeral follows the multiplicative particle pa·n times: pa·n<sup>ˈ</sup>á-pak once, pa·r<sup>ˈ</sup>ryá-pak twice, pa·n<sup>ˈ</sup>síli-pak three times, pa·n<sup>ˈ</sup>pá<sup>ˈ</sup>-pak four times, pa·l<sup>ˈ</sup>lím-pak five times, pa·n<sup>ˈ</sup>wéne-pak six times, pa·n<sup>ˈ</sup>ísi-pak seven times, pa·n<sup>ˈ</sup>wéli-pak eight times, pa·n<sup>ˈ</sup>túwa-pak nine times. Multiplicative phrases from 'ten' up include the multiplicative particle pa·n followed by M éysek, K éysak ten and other higher, compound, or complex numerals: pa·n<sup>ˈ</sup>éysek ten times, pa·n<sup>ˈ</sup>épuki a hundred times, pa·r<sup>ˈ</sup>riy-éysek twenty times. The multiplicative particle pa·n is homophonous with the verbal auxiliary pa·n (future particle, see 9. 1. 3.).

8. 2. 1. 4. Classifier -sup- has but one alternant: súp-et̚ this, súp-en that (near you), súp-o (near him); ó-sup one, riyá-sup two, síli-sup three, pá<sup>ˈ</sup>-sup four, lími-sup five, wón-sup six, ísi-sup seven, wáli-sup eight, túwa-sup nine.

The -sup- class of nouns includes a few nouns denoting oblong, narrow pieces, stalks, among them the noun sup (oblong) piece itself which is homophonous with the classifier: sè·u<sup>ˈ</sup>ó-sup one (stalk of) sugar cane, súp<sup>ˈ</sup>in<sup>ˈ</sup> tú·ke síli-sup three pieces of wood, súp<sup>ˈ</sup>in<sup>ˈ</sup>tù·ke<sup>ˈ</sup>súp-et̚



this piece of wood.

-sup- is often used interchangeably with M -lèp-, K -lap- (cf. 8. 2. 2. 2.), the latter being the more common of the two: sùp<sup>ˆ</sup>in<sup>ˆ</sup>tú·kə súp-et̚ ~ lèp<sup>ˆ</sup>in<sup>ˆ</sup>tú·kə lèp-et̚ this piece of wood.

8. 2. 1. 5. Classifier -pali- has a sandhi alternant with epenthetic y: -paliy-, before demonstrative suffixes: páliy-et̚ this, páliy-en that (near you), páliy-o that (near him); but - á-pali one, ryá-pali two, síli-pali three, pá'-pali four, lím-pali five, wón-pali six, ís-pali seven, wél-pali eight, túwa-pali nine.

-pali- is used by itself as an indefinite numeral 'one': pèliy<sup>ˆ</sup>én<sup>ˆ</sup>mwom<sup>ˆ</sup>pàli a swarm of fish.

The -pali- class of nouns includes those denoting body extremities, as well as the noun páli (sandhi: paliy<sup>ˆ</sup>, unstressed: pèli [y<sup>ˆ</sup>]) part, side, swarm itself which is homophonous with the classifier: pè<sup>ˆ</sup>rya-páli two hands, pàli<sup>ˆ</sup>pá'-pali four sides, pèliy<sup>ˆ</sup>én<sup>ˆ</sup>mwom páliy-et̚ this swarm of fish.

8. 2. 1. 6. Classifier -mwiṭ- has a sandhi alternant with epenthetic iy: mwiṭiy-, before demonstrative suffixes: mwiṭiy-et̚ this, mwiṭiy-en that (near you), mwiṭiy-o that (near him); but - M é-mwiṭ, K á-mwiṭ one, ryá-mwiṭ two, síli-mwiṭ three, pá'-mwiṭ four, lím-mwiṭ five, wóno-mwiṭ six, ísi-mwiṭ seven, wáli-mwiṭ eight, túwo-mwiṭ nine.

This classifier is restricted to the homophonous noun mwiṭ small heap, and the noun piṭ strand (of hair), as

determinants of hypotactic actor and goal phrases (cf. 11. 2.); these two nouns may be said to form a class of two, though *piṭ* in turn may constitute a one-noun class of its own in certain distributions (cf. 8. 2. 1. 9.): *piṭ'én'wel mwĩṭiy-et* this little heap of hair, but also - *piṭ'én'wel é-piṭ* one strand of hair, *mwĩṭ'ir're ryá-mwĩṭ* two little heaps of grass.

-*mwĩṭ*- was also found by itself constituting an indefinite numeral 'one': *mwĩṭ'ir're'mwĩṭ* a little heap of grass.

8. 2. 1. 7. Classifier -*el*- (no Kiti forms found) has a sandhi alternant with epenthetic *iy*: *éliy-*, before demonstrative suffixes; numeral stem 'one' is elided before this classifier, other numeral stems have sandhi alternants with epenthetic *y* or undergo bilateral sandhi: *éliy-et* this, *éliy-en* that (near you), *éliy-o* that (near him); *el* one, *riy-el* two, *síliy-el* three, *pá'y-el* four, *límiy-el* five, *wéniy-el* ~ *wóné--l* (*wóné- + -el*) six, *ísiy-el* seven, *wéliy-el* ~ *wéle--l* (*wéle- + -el*) eight, *túwe--l* (*tuwe- + -el*) nine.

This classifier is restricted to the homophonous noun *el* wreath as determinant of hypotactic actor and goal phrases (cf. 11. 2.); that noun may be said to constitute a class of one: *él'in'mwá'ŋ éliy-o* that taro wreath, *él'in'tú'ke límiy-el* five flower wreaths.

8. 2. 1. 8. Classifier -*sow*- has but one alt-

ernant (no Kiti forms were recorded): sów-et̚ this, sów-en that (near you), sów-o that (near him); é-sow one, riyé-sow two, síli-sow three, pá'-sow four, lími-sow five, wén-sow six, ís-sow seven, wéli-sow eight, túwe-sow nine.

This classifier is restricted to the noun pwíse (heap of) excreta which may be said to constitute a class of one: pwíse^sów-et̚ this heap of excreta, pwíse^riyé-sow two heaps of excreta.

8. 2. 1. 9. Classifier -piṭ- has but one alternant: piṭ-et̚ this, piṭ-en that (near you), piṭ-o that (near him); M é-piṭ, K á-piṭ one, ryá-piṭ two, síli-piṭ three, pá'-piṭ four, lím-piṭ five, wóno-piṭ six, ísi-piṭ seven, wáli-piṭ eight, túwa-piṭ nine.

This classifier is restricted to the homophonous noun piṭ strand (of hair) as determinant of hypotactic actor and goal phrases (cf. 11. 2.); this noun may be said to constitute a class of one, though at the same time it also belongs to the two-noun -mwiṭ- class (see 8. 2. 1. 6.): piṭ^én^moṇ ryá-piṭ two strands of hair.

8. 2. 1. 10. Classifier -i'- has limited distribution: its base alternant occurs after elided numeral stem 'one', and a nonsyllabic sandhi alternant y after numeral stem 'two'; its class is restricted to the homophonous noun i' bunch (of bananas) as determinant of hypotactic actor and goal phrases (cf. 11. 2.): i' one,

ríya-y two; ɿ·ʼenʼú·tʼɿ· a bunch of bananas.

The noun ɿ· forms part of the -u- class in distributions with other numerals, and with demonstratives: ɿ·ʼenʼú·tʼ sɿlu three bunches of bananas, ɿ·ʼenʼú·tʼw-etʼ this bunch of bananas. In distributions with numerals 'one' and 'two' as well, numerals of the -ɿ- class are often replaced by those of the -u- class: ɿ·ʼenʼú·tʼiyè-w a bunch of bananas.

8. 2. 2. ɿ·k classifiers. These are, in the order of the approximate frequency of their occurrence: M -men-, K -man-; M-lap-, K -lap-; -tun-; -parr-; -ka-; possibly also -pa- and -ra- (see 8. 2. 3.).

8. 2. 2. 1. Classifier M -men-, K -man- has but one alternant: M mén-etʼ, K mán-etʼ this (near me), M mén-en, K mán-en that (near you), M mén-o, K mán-o that (near him), M mén-e, K mán-e this; M é-men, K á-man one, M ryé-men, K ryá-man two, M sɿli-men, K sɿli-man three, M pá·-men, K pá·-man four, M lím-men, K lím-man five, M wéne-men, K wóno-man six, M ísi-men, K ísi-man seven, M wéli-men, K wáli-man eight, M túwe-men, K túwa-man nine. Dialect differentiation in the case of this classifier and the demonstratives and numerals formed with it is rather lax: many Kiti speakers use main dialect forms interchangeably with those of their own dialect.

M -men-, K -man- is used by itself as indefinite numeral 'one' after certain nouns where sandhi con-

ditions are favorable; in other cases, M é-men, K á-man serve as both indefinite and definite numerals 'one' (cf. 8.0.): serí-men a child, but - lí.y<sup>h</sup> é-men a woman, pwí.k<sup>h</sup>-é-men a pig.

Numeral M é-men, K á-man one may function as a quasi-noun in a number of distributions; see 8.1.1.

The -men- class includes animate beings (human beings and animals); the semantic characteristic of animateness appears to be quite consistent with this class: málek<sup>h</sup>-é-men a chicken, seri-pèyn<sup>h</sup>ryé-men two girls, pwí.k rly-é.k<sup>h</sup>ísi-men twenty-seven pigs.

Animate nouns viewed as pseudo-inanimate groupings are included in the -u- class; see 8.0., and 8.2.1.1.

8.2.2.2. Classifier M -lep-, K -lap- has but one alternant: M lép-et̚, K láp-et̚ this, M lép-en, K láp-en that (near you), M lép-o, K láp-o that (near him); M é-lep, K á-lap one, M ryé-lep, K ryá-lap two, M síl-lep, K síl-lap three, M pá-lep, K pá-lap four, M lími-lep, K lími-lap five, M wón-lep, K wón-lap six, M ísi-lep, K ísi-lap seven, M wél-lep, M wál-lap eight, M túwe-lep, K túwa-lap nine.

This classifier is restricted to the homophonous noun M lép, K lap (oblong) piece as determinant of hypotactic actor and goal phrases (cf. 11.2.); that noun in turn may be said to constitute a class of one: lép<sup>h</sup>in<sup>h</sup>tù.ke<sup>h</sup>lép-et̚ this piece of wood, lép<sup>h</sup>in<sup>h</sup>tàkay<sup>h</sup> wél-lep eight (oblong) pieces of stone.



M -lap-, K -lap- is often used interchangeably with -sup-; see 8. 2. 1. 4.

8. 2. 2. 3. Classifier -por- has but one alternant: pór-et̚ this, pór-en̚ that (near you), pór-o̚ that (near him); ó-por one, ryá-por two, síli-por three, pá-por four, lím-por five, wóno-por six, ísi-por seven, M wéli-por, K wáli-por eight, túwo-por nine.

-por- has been found by itself as an indefinite numeral 'one': pòr̚en̚tinám̚por a piece of board.

This classifier is restricted to the homophonous noun por (long, thin) piece as determinant of hypotactic actor and goal phrases (cf. 11. 2.); that noun in turn may be said to constitute a class of one: pòr̚en̚tináp̚ ryá-por two pieces of board, pòr̚en̚tináp̚ pór-et̚ this piece of board.

8. 2. 2. 4. Classifier M -t̚e-, K -t̚a- has a lengthened sandhi alternant with epenthetic y before demonstrative suffixes: M t̚é̄·y-et̚, K t̚á̄·y-et̚ this, M t̚é̄·y-en̚, K t̚á̄·y-en̚ that (near you), M t̚é̄·y-o̚, K t̚á̄·y-o̚ that (near him); but - M é-t̚e, K á-t̚a one, M ryé-t̚e, K ryá-t̚a two, M síli-t̚e, K síli-t̚a three, M pá-t̚e, K pá-t̚a four, M lím-t̚e, K lím-t̚a five, M wén-t̚e, K wón-t̚a six, M ísi-t̚e, K ísi-t̚a seven, M wéli-t̚e, K wáli-t̚a eight, M túwa-t̚e, K túwa-t̚a nine.

M -t̚e-, K -t̚a- has been found by itself as an indefinite numeral 'one': t̚è̄·n̚t̚óropwè̄t̚è̄ a sheet of paper.

This classifier is restricted to the homophonous noun M t̚e, K t̚a leaf, sheet (of paper) as determinant of

hypotactic actor and goal phrases (cf. 11. 2.); that noun in turn may be said to constitute a class of one: tè·n̂tú·ke ryé-tè two tree leaves, tè·n̂tóropwe síli-tè three sheets of paper.

Occasionally, the noun tóropwe paper is also included in the -tè- class: tòropwe·rya-té·y-et̚ these two (pieces of) paper, but natives claim this is not good usage; good usage would be to use a hypotactic phrase with tè as the determinant: tè·n̂tóropwe rya-té·y-et̚ two sheets of paper.

8. 2. 2. 5. Classifier -tun- has but one alternant: tún-et̚ this, tún-en that (near you), tún-o that (near him); ú-tun one, ryá-tun two, síli-tun three, pá·-tun four, lími-tun five, wón-tun six, ísi-tun seven, M wáli-tun, K wáli-tun eight, túwa-tun nine.

-tun- has been found by itself as an indefinite numeral 'one': tún·en̂mwóm̂tún a bundle of fish.

This classifier is restricted to the homophonous noun tun bundle (of food) as determinant of hypotactic actor and goal phrases (cf. 11. 2.); that noun, in turn can be said to constitute a class of one: tún·en̂mwóm̂tún-et̚ this bundle of fish, tún·en̂málek ryá-tun two bundles of chickens.

8. 2. 2. 6. Classifier -parr- has a sandhi alternant with single final consonant before demonstrative suffixes: pár-et̚ this, pár-en that (near you),

pár-o that (near him); but - á-parr one, ryá-parr two, síli-parr three, pá-parr four, lím-parr five, wóne-parr six, ísi-parr seven, M wéli-parr, K wáli-parr eight, túwa-parr nine.

-parr- has been found by itself as an indefinite numeral 'one': pòrr'en'tóropwè'parr a bundle of paper.

This classifier is restricted to the homophonous noun parr (juncture: pòrr') bundle (of leaves, sheets) as determinant of hypotactic actor and goal phrases (cf. 11. 2.); that noun in turn may be said to constitute a class of one: pòrr'en'té:ón'tú-ke ryá-parr two bundles of tree leaves.

8. 2. 2. 7. Classifier -ka- has a lengthened sandhi alternant with epenthetic y: ka-y-, before demonstrative suffixes: ká-y-et̚ this, ká-y-en that (near you), ká-y-o (near him); but - á-ka one, ryá-ka two, síli-ka three, pá-ka four, lími-ka five, wóne-ka six, ísi-ka seven, M wéli-ka, K wáli-ka eight, túwa-ka nine.

-ka- is used by itself as an indefinite numeral 'one': kà·ŋ'en'tákay'kà a row of stones.

This classifier is restricted to the homophonous noun ka row (of stones in a feasthouse), and the noun ka·ŋ row, as determinants of hypotactic actor and goal phrases (cf. 11. 2.), these two nouns can be said to constitute a class of two: kà·n'tákay'kà a row of stones (in a feasthouse), kà·ŋ'en'árames ká-y-et̚ this row of people, kà·ŋ'en'tákay ryá-ka two rows of stones.

8. 2. 2. 8.      -pa-, see 8. 2. 4.  
~~~~~

8. 2. 2. 9.      -ra-, see 8. 2. 4.  
~~~~~

8. 2. 3. nowl classifiers.      These are, in order of the relative frequency of their occurrence: -kis-, -u'm-, -wel- (no Kiti forms recorded), -kap-.

8. 2. 3. 1.      Classifier -kis- has but one alternant: kis-et this, kis-en that (near you), kis-o that (near him); é-kis one, ryá-kis two, síli-kis three, pá-kis four, wéne-kis six, ísi-kis seven, M wéli-kis, K wáli-kis eight, túwa-kis nine.

-kis- is used by itself as an indefinite numeral 'one': kis'in puťan kis a little boy, wása kis a place.

The -kis- class is by natives said to include nouns denoting little round objects, but this semantic characteristic does not hold up to close scrutiny; on the other hand, the homophonous noun kis (little round) piece as determinant of hypotactic actor and goal phrases is part of this class as well - these hypotactic phrases, however, serve as diminutives as well, which again underscores the considerable semantic range of this class: é-kis wása a place, some place, kis'in mwóge kis a bit of food, kis'in séri ryá-kis two little children.

Numeral é-kis one may also function as an ad-verbal particle, and a free form (see 8. 1. 1.).

8. 2. 3. 2.      Classifier -u'm- has a juncture-and-sandhi alternant umwi- before demonstrative suffixes;

after numeral stems, a shortened juncture alternant -um in bilateral sandhi with preceding morpheme-final vowel is assumed: úmwi-y-et̚ this, úmwi-en that (near you), úmwi-o that (near him); u·m (V+ -um) one, ríyow-m ~ ríyu·-m (ríya- + -um) two, sílu·-m (sili- + -um) three, pá·w-m (pa·- + -um) four, límow-m (lima- + -um) five, wénow-m (wene- + -um) six, ísu·-m (isi- + -um) seven, wálu·-m (wali- + -um) eight, túwov-m (tuwa- + -um) nine.

Classifier -u·m- is homophonous with the noun u·m (sandhi-and-juncture: umw<sup>h</sup>) stone oven which, however, does not seem to be included in the -u·m- class. The latter class includes those denoting round fruits and tubers; here, native information tallies with the facts: kè·p<sup>h</sup>úmwi-y-et̚ this yam, mà·y<sup>h</sup>ríyu·-m two breadfruit, mmàṅaṭ<sup>h</sup>ú·m one plantain.

Nouns of the -u·m- class are sometimes found included in the -u- class as well, i. e. they may be followed by numerals and demonstratives of the -u- class (cf. 8. 2. 1. 1.) as well as the -u·m- class: mà·y<sup>h</sup>é·-u ~ mà·y<sup>h</sup>ú·m one breadfruit, kè·p<sup>h</sup>w-et̚ ~ kè·p<sup>h</sup>úmwi-y-et̚ this yam.

8. 2. 3. 3. Classifier -wel- has a sandhi alternant with epenthetic iy: weliy-, before demonstrative suffixes: wéliy-et̚ this, wéliy-en that (near you), wéliy-o that (near him); but -é-wel one, riyé-wel two, síli-wel three, pá·-wel four, lími-wel five, wéne-wel six, ísi-wel seven, wéle-wel eight, túwe-wel nine.

-wel- is used by itself as an indefinite numeral



'one': wel<sup>ˈ</sup>in<sup>ˈ</sup>sew<sup>ˈ</sup>wèl a sugar cane plant.

This classifier is restricted to the homophonous noun wel plant (with several stalks and one root) as determinant of hypotactic actor and goal phrases (cf. 11. 2.); that noun in turn may be said to constitute a class of one: wel<sup>ˈ</sup>in<sup>ˈ</sup>sew wéliy-et̚ this sugar cane plant, wèl<sup>ˈ</sup>en<sup>ˈ</sup>kélow ryé-wel two hibiscus plants, wèl<sup>ˈ</sup>in<sup>ˈ</sup>sákaw<sup>ˈ</sup>wèl a kava plant.

8. 2. 3. 4. Classifier -kap- has but one alternant: káp-et̚ this, káp-en that (near you), káp-o that (near him); á-kap one, ryá-kap two, síli-kap three, pá<sup>ˈ</sup>-kap four, lími-kap five, wóne-kap six, ísi-kap seven, M wéli-kap, K wáli-kap eight, túwa-kap nine.

-kap- is used by itself as an indefinite numeral 'one': kèp<sup>ˈ</sup>en<sup>ˈ</sup>sé<sup>ˈ</sup>u<sup>ˈ</sup>kap a sheaf of sugar cane.

This classifier is restricted to the homophonous noun kap (juncture: kap<sup>ˈ</sup>) sheaf as determinant of hypotactic actor and goal phrases (cf. 11. 2.); that noun in turn can be said to constitute a class of one: kèp<sup>ˈ</sup>en<sup>ˈ</sup>sé<sup>ˈ</sup>u<sup>ˈ</sup> ryá-kap two sheaves of sugar cane.

8. 2. 4. Ungrouped Classifiers. A few additional classifiers were recorded, but inclusion in the eysek, ε·k, or pɔwɔl groups could not be ascertained.

The noun pɔŋ night was found 'demoted' to classifier in one instance in a traditional narrative: pɔŋ<sup>ˈ</sup>pá<sup>ˈ</sup>-pɔŋ four nights.

Max Girschner mentions two ε·k classifiers which

were not recorded by this investigator: K -pa-, homophonous with, and probably restricted to, K pa co- conut\_leaf; K -ra-, homophonous with, and probably restricted to, K ra tree\_limb.

8. 3. Plural Demonstratives. These consist of the demonstrative stem puka-, with an alternant puk- before the demonstrative suffix -o, followed by demonstrative suffixes: púka-ṭ these, púka-n those (near you), púk-o those (near him). They are used with nouns of all classes: árames^púka-ṭ these people, mwóŋe^púka-n those foods, só.ŋ^puka-ṭ these kinds.

8. 4. Locative Demonstratives. A number of these are similar in morphemic composition to the demonstratives described above, but differ from them in distribution, inasmuch as they may by themselves constitute locative goal phrases. For details see 9. 3. 1.

## IX. Phraseology: Standard Phrase Types

9.0. Phrases can, from a syntactic standpoint, be classed as actor, action, goal, and locative goal phrases. In this chapter, only the most common types of these phrases, i. e. the standard action, actor, goal, and locative goal phrase, will be discussed. Less common, non-standard, types will be reserved for a later more detailed study. Certain particles, significant in the structure of standard phrase types, will be discussed in connection with these.

Action, actor, and goal phrases are found in gemination as well (cf. also geminate themes, cf. 7.0.); geminate phrases consist of two, sometimes three, juxtaposed phrase nuclei of identical syntactic type, functioning as a single phrase. They will be discussed following the treatment of standard non-geminate phrase types in 9.4. below.

9.1. Action Phrases. The standard action phrase is centered around, or constituted by, a verb: *kitáył sò·tə·pa·n·wiyá·ta...* (centered around verb *·wiyá·ta*) we shall not do... , ...*kílanáta* (constituted by verb) ... look at (it).

In the sentence, action phrases function as predicates, but the predicative function is not restricted to action phrases - (predicative) goal phrases may

function as predicates as well: ò·lò<sup>ˆ</sup>píl<sup>ˆ</sup>sé·se  
that-man really doesn't-know, where the action  
 phrase <sup>ˆ</sup>píl<sup>ˆ</sup>sé·se serves as predicate; pwí·k<sup>ˆ</sup>pway<sup>ˆ</sup>láwt  
pigs (are) price(d) high, where the predicative goal  
 phrase <sup>ˆ</sup>pway<sup>ˆ</sup>láwt serves as predicate.

9.1.1. The Verb Expression. The verb with  
 preceding ad-verbal particles can be singled out among  
 the constituent units of the standard action phrase  
 and grouped into a phrase nucleus, the verb expres-  
 sion. The ad-verbal particles entering into the verb  
 expression are personal subject pronouns and verbal  
 auxiliaries, as well as pre-verbal particles; personal  
 subject pronouns occur as initial members of verb ex-  
 pressions, verbal auxiliaries occur as pre-final mem-  
 bers immediately preceding the verb or pre-verbal  
 particle, pre-verbal particles always immediately  
 precede the verb. Various syntactic particles may be  
 inserted between personal subject pronouns and verbal  
 auxiliaries as part of the action phrase, but not of  
 the - then discontinuous - verb expression: i<sup>ˆ</sup>sò·tə<sup>ˆ</sup>  
 kíñ·yáñ (personal subject pronoun, syntactic particle,  
 verbal auxiliary, verb) I am not usually along, é<sup>ˆ</sup>píl<sup>ˆ</sup>  
 pà·n kàpuretó·sañ he also wil give-back-from-it, i<sup>ˆ</sup>mèn<sup>ˆ</sup>  
 pírita I want-to get-up.

9.1.2. Personal Subject Pronouns. The morph-  
 emic composition of these was discussed in 6.3.1.;  
 in the standard action phrase they occur as initial

members of the verb expression within that phrase;  
see above.

9.1.3. Verbal Auxiliaries. These are: pa·n  
future auxiliary, kin habitual auxiliary, nek potent-  
auxiliary, men volitive auxiliary, u·t additive aux-  
iliary, te prohibitive auxiliary.

Prohibitive auxiliary te may be followed by verb  
suffix of the seventh position -er, giving te·-r as  
a result of bilateral sandhi, or be paired with the  
pre-verbal particle pa suddenly, giving té·pa as  
the result of final sandhi lengthening (cf. 2.3.1.2.,  
case 3); other verbal auxiliaries show no suffixation,  
pairing, or additional non-automatic morphophonemics:  
ke·tè·lemé·ta don't (sg.) think, komwayl·tè·r·manoké·la  
don't (pl.) forget, ira·tè·pa·kó·-la they (d.) should-  
n't go; but - re·pà·l·láy·t they'll go fishing, ò·lo·  
kin·kílan the-man would look, i·nèk·wíya i can do-it,  
sò·men·wiyáwi it can't be done (lit.: not wants-to  
be-done), kàmatipwo·ú·t kò·oṅkómwi the-feast also  
is-coming-to-you.

In the standard action phrase, verbal auxiliaries  
occur as pre-final members of the verb expression with-  
in that phrase; see above.

9.1.4. Pre-Verbal Particles. Two syntactic  
particles, pa suddenly, and no·n overly, may occur  
between the verbal auxiliary and the verb in the  
verb expression; in those distributions they are





function as predicates - in this distribution they are referred to as predicative goal phrases.

2.2.1. The Noun Expression. The noun with adjoining ad-nominal particles can be singled out among the constituent units of the standard actor and goal phrase and grouped into a phrase nucleus, the noun expression. The ad-nominal particles entering into the noun expression are personal possessive pronouns, adjectives, demonstratives, numerals, numeral demonstratives, and an emphatic particle. Demonstratives and numerals are mutually exclusive in noun expressions - where they might be expected to occur together, both are replaced by a single numeral demonstrative (cf. 8.0.). The emphatic particle is obligatorily paired with adjectives, but not vice versa. Personal possessive pronouns precede the noun, of other ad-nominal particles, a numeral 'one' may precede the noun or personal possessive pronoun (cf. 8.0.); the remaining ad-nominal particles follow the noun. Adjectives may co-occur with one or two ad-nominal particles of other types; if all ad-nominal particles follow the noun, the adjective in turn precedes the other particles: èmen<sup>ˈ</sup>ay<sup>ˈ</sup>píryen a friend of mine (lit.: one my friend), èmen<sup>ˈ</sup>ó·lo that one man (lit.: one that-man); pùtak<sup>ˈ</sup>ryémen two boys, lì·<sup>ˈ</sup>ménɛt̚ this woman, pwì·k<sup>ˈ</sup>sílimenɛt̚ these three pigs; pì·l<sup>ˈ</sup>tó·to much water; sò·ŋ<sup>ˈ</sup>mwáw<sup>ˈ</sup>yew a good way (lit.: way good

one), wà·r<sup>ˈ</sup>kaláymun<sup>ˈ</sup>pwòtɔtɔ this large canoe (lit.: canoe large this), ð·mwi<sup>ˈ</sup>wá·r<sup>ˈ</sup>apwòtɔ a canoe of yours (hon.) (lit.: your canoe one)

Nouns and adjectives in noun expressions often are in grammatical close juncture: sór<sup>ˈ</sup>amwàw good looks, lól<sup>ˈ</sup>suwet bad nature.

Noun and ensuing ad-nominal particles in the noun expression are occasionally separated by the syntactic particle M ɬə. K ɬə only, identical with the homophonous verb suffix of the seventh position; for this distribution, see 4. 9.

9. 2. 2. Personal Possessive Pronouns. The morphemic composition of these is discussed in 6. 3. 4.; in the standard actor and goal phrase, they precede the noun in the noun expression within those phrases; see above. They are restricted in occurrence to certain nouns; for their distributional limitations, see likewise 6. 3. 4.

9. 2. 3. Numerals, Demonstratives, Numeral Demonstratives. The morphemic composition of these ad-nominal particles is discussed in the preceding chapter VIII. In the standard actor and goal phrase they function as part of the noun expression within those phrases; see above.

9. 2. 4. Adjectives. These are single morphemes, or may consist of a stem followed by an adjectivizer (see 7. 2. 1.) or emphatic suffix (see 7. 2. 2.).

Many adjectives, in addition to their function as ad-nominal particles, may also constitute verb-adjective stems (see 7.1.).

It is in the latter distribution that adjectives function semantically as comparatives - followed by a verb suffix of the seventh position: mwàwsaŋ<sup>h</sup>má.s better-than before, mwáwoŋ<sup>h</sup>ape better-than that-thing.

The superlative, by contrast, is formed with the superlative suffix M -ye, K -ye ( with sandhi alternant M -iye, K -iye after consonants) restricted in distribution to adjectives; superlative adjectives function in the phrase as ad-nominal particles and have the same distributions as other adjectives: líŋ=an-iye (derivative adjective theme, superlative suffix) most-beautiful, ay<sup>h</sup>píryen<sup>h</sup>mwáwye my best friend (lit.: my friend best).

In the standard actor and goal phrase, adjectives follow the noun in the noun expression within those phrases, and may in turn be followed by other ad-nominal particles; see above.

2.2.5. Emphatic Particle. This particle is homophonous with the noun M mé·lel, K mé·lel truth; it may indeed be considered a noun 'demoted' to particle. The emphatic particle has but one alternant in all distributions; in standard actor and goal phrases, it is obligatorily paired with, and follows, immediately after, the adjective in the noun expression within those phrases. It may be rendered in English



by 'indeed': mòm<sup>h</sup>suwət<sup>h</sup>mé<sup>h</sup>·lel really\_very\_ugly (lit.: face\_bad\_indeed), làwt<sup>h</sup>mé<sup>h</sup>·lel large\_indeed, very\_large.

9.3. Locative Goal Phrases. One-word locative goal phrases consist of a locative demonstrative which in turn may be preceded by a pre-locative particle, or a noun-like preposition with personal possessive suffixes; multi-word locative goal phrases consist of a locative and/or pre-locative particle, or a noun-like preposition with ensuing hypotactic particle M en, K en, followed by a noun expression or personal object pronoun; locative particle ni in may in addition be in locative goal phrases followed by a numeral or a verb with preceding personal possessive pronoun (cf. 6. 3. 4.) and, optionally, an ensuing secondary goal or locative goal phrase. Semantically, locative goal phrases may have temporal as well as local meaning: meṭ here, áyu yesterday, limwá·ra next to them, sàŋ<sup>h</sup>meṭ from now (on), ni<sup>h</sup> ménseŋ in the morning, nan<sup>h</sup>í·mwo in the house, mpè<sup>h</sup>n<sup>h</sup> ó·lo close to the-man; sàŋ<sup>h</sup>nan<sup>h</sup>wé·lo from (in) the-woods, oŋ<sup>h</sup>b<sup>h</sup>·mwi<sup>h</sup>pówt to your wife, óŋ<sup>h</sup>nan móŋe to (in) his head, oŋ<sup>h</sup>íye to me, saŋ<sup>h</sup>kómwi from you (hon.); pò·<sup>h</sup>n<sup>h</sup>ṭé·pel on the table; ni<sup>h</sup>élep in one (piece), ni<sup>h</sup>útun in one (bundle); ni<sup>h</sup>áy<sup>h</sup>·samwalá·r when I go away (lit.: in my going-away-already), ni<sup>h</sup>áy<sup>h</sup>·kokòla·ŋ<sup>h</sup>kíṭi on my way to Kiti (lit.: in my going-to Kiti), ni<sup>h</sup>áy<sup>h</sup>·wénti<sup>h</sup>·mpèwm when I lie next to you (lit.: in my lying next-to-you).

9. 3. 1. Locative Demonstratives. Many locative



demonstratives consist of a demonstrative stem followed by a demonstrative suffix identical with those found after noun themes (see 5.3.); other locative demonstratives are single morphemes, but not porte-manteau. The most common of the bimorphemic ones have locative demonstrative stems of their own; other locative demonstratives have classifier demonstrative stems identical with those of the ad-nominal demonstratives treated in chapter VIII - they are either homophonous with the latter, or contain somewhat different sandhi alternants of the classifier demonstrative stems.

Locative demonstrative stems are m- for stationary demonstratives, and y- for pointing demonstratives: m-eṭ here; now, m-eṭ there (near you), m-o there (near him), m-e here (homophonous with copula, see chapter X); y-eṭ here! (near me), y-en there! (near you), y-o there! (near you), y-ey (alternant of -e) lo!, as in sò-ṭẹm-eṭ isn't here, wà-lạm-ó bring it there!; yo! yo! there, there! (pointing at fish).

Initial m of stationary demonstratives is geminated in certain sandhi situations; see 2.3.1.1., case 4.

Locative demonstratives homophonous with ad-nominal demonstratives are páliy-eṭ over here, páliy-en over there (near you), páliy-o over there (near him); cf. 8.2.1.5.

Locative demonstratives containing their own sandhi alternants of classifier demonstratives are 'lépiy-eṭ,

-en, -o here (there) along it (cf. 8. 2. 2. 2.),  
 súpiy-et, -en, -o here (there) along it (cf.  
8. 2. 1. 4.); both are often used interchangeably,  
 as are the classifiers corresponding to them; again,  
 the former is much more frequent than the latter.

Single-morpheme demonstratives may be semant-  
 ically local or temporal. They include among others  
 pwar through, lákap tomorrow, áyu yesterday, ma's  
formerly, rkápwan shortly: lé·ṭ¹ḷ¹l ó·lo pwar the-  
lead pierced (lit.: reached) the-man (through),  
 ṣd·ṭ¹kák ko·kò·to¹lákap can't (lit.: not can)  
come tomorrow, palilá·saŋ rkápwan will come-back-  
from-there shortly.

9.3.2. Pre-Locative Particles. These are:  
 saŋ from, oŋ to; they are identical with the homophon-  
 ous verb suffixes of the fourth position (see 4.9.).  
 In locative goal phrases, they occur as initial mem-  
 bers before locative demonstratives, noun expressions,  
 and the locative particle nan in; see 9.3. above.

9.3.3. Noun-like Prepositions. These consist  
 of a prepositional stem followed by personal possessive  
 suffixes or by the hypotactic particle M en, K en. The  
 former are included in the noun-like preposition, de-  
 tails of their distribution with regard to these are  
 given in 6.3.3.; the hypotactic particle, on the  
 other hand, is considered a separate word from the pre-  
 positional stem preceding it. Prepositional stems do

not by themselves constitute words in other distributions.

Prepositional stems are: \* po- above, \* pa- below, \* mwo- ahead of, \* mwirri- after, M \* re-, K \* re- at, \* mp- next to, \* limwa- next to, \* kapilli- on both sides of, M \* epwe- usual with. Morphophonemics of prepositional stems followed by personal possessive suffixes are likewise discussed in 6. 3. 3.; in addition, vowel-final ones undergo bilateral sandhi with the ensuing hypotactic particle: po·<sup>ˆ</sup>n on top of, pa·<sup>ˆ</sup>n underneath of, mwo·<sup>ˆ</sup>n before, mwirri<sup>ˆ</sup>n after, re·<sup>ˆ</sup>n at, M mp<sup>ˆ</sup>en, K mp<sup>ˆ</sup>en next to, limwá·<sup>ˆ</sup>n next to, kapilli<sup>ˆ</sup>n on both sides of, M epwé·<sup>ˆ</sup>n usual with.

9. 3. 4. Locative Particles. These are ni in, nin in, nan in, during; they have but one alternant each. Locative particle nin may possibly consist of locative particle ni in bilateral sandhi with hypotactic particle M en, K en, but no advantage is gained from such an underlying analysis.

Locative particles occur as first members of locative goal phrases; particle nan in addition occurs as second members of locative goal phrases after pre-locative particles. See 9. 3. above.

9. 4. Geminate Phrases. Geminate phrases consist of two, sometimes three, juxtaposed phrase nuclei of identical syntactic type: geminate action phrases are constituted by two, sometimes three, verb expressions; geminate actor and goal phrases by two noun expressions.

In geminate action phrases, the second (and third) verb expression is usually confined to the verb; in geminate actor and goal phrases, the first noun expression is limited to the noun.

Semantically, the second of the two phrase nuclei in all types of geminate phrases is subordinate to the first, the third - if present - to the second. Distributionally, however, these phrases are characterized by the juxtaposition of equivalent constituents, and hence are considered paratactic.

In geminate action phrases the first verb often, but not always, is constituted by the bare verb stem: mwaw<sup>h</sup>kó·la (he) wants-to-go, mòmwo·t<sup>h</sup>wíyawíya are-sitting (and) doing, wíya kílikilán (they) do looking, tán kóte runs (and) crosses; but also - kàtítá·to kàtílá·sán comes-up-here (and) goes-away (hon.), kó·to kàmatípkí·la lú·sá (they) come, give-a-feast-to (him), lose (on it).

Nouns included in geminate action and goal phrases have not been found to include suffixes; the second noun expression of the phrase often contains an adjective: lí·y<sup>h</sup>at<sup>h</sup>ámwaw woman of good name (lit.: woman name good), ó·l lól<sup>h</sup>suwet ill-natured man (lit.: man inside bad); but also - séri límpək lovable child (lit.: child love), méy<sup>h</sup>kòle breadfruit (with) seeds.

## X. Phraseology: Copula Phrases

10. 0. ~~~~~ Copula phrases have as their initial members, or as the initial member of one of their major components, the copula M me, K me. The copula in turn determines the function within the sentence or phrase of the unit of which it is the initial member. In this respect, the copula parallels in function the class changer affixes discussed in 7. 2. 1.: ~~~~~ as the latter determine the class of words of which they are part, so the copula serves to determine the syntactic or phraseological function of the phrase or multi-word phrase component of which it is the initial member. And as class changers primarily serve to change the word class of stems to which they are added, so the copula serves to change the syntactic and phraseological function of the word or group of words which it precedes. Thus, a word normally constituting an ad-nominal particle with preceding copula functions as a noun expression; a word normally constituting an ad-nominal particle, or a sequence of words normally constituting an actor or goal phrase, with preceding copula function as an action phrase; a sequence of phrases normally constituting a sentence with preceding copula in certain distributions functions as a goal phrase, in others as an attributive sub-phrase - i. e. a phrase component serving the function of an ad-nominal particle within the actor or goal



phrase. In all of these distributions, the joining of the copula with other words within the unit determines the function of the unit as a whole within the larger frame.

10. 1. Copula Noun Expressions. These consist of a copula followed by an ad-nominal particle; the copula here has the function of a noun substitute. In these distributions the copula often has a lengthened alternant under the stress: mé·<sup>ˆ</sup>pwoṭeṭ this\_one, mé·<sup>ˆ</sup>ṭeyeṭ this\_one (of two), mé·<sup>ˆ</sup>koroṣ everything; but - me·<sup>ˆ</sup>meneṭ this\_one, me·<sup>ˆ</sup>ryémenet these\_two.

The copula noun expression constitutes either an actor or goal phrase, or part of a geminate actor or goal phrase: mé·<sup>ˆ</sup>pukaṭ sé·se these\_here don't-know, kán me·<sup>ˆ</sup>koroṣ he-eats it\_all, riyeṭ mé·<sup>ˆ</sup>ṭik ko·kó·to my\_younger brother (lit.: my-brother the\_younger\_one) came, mò·<sup>ˆ</sup>n<sup>ˆ</sup> mé·<sup>ˆ</sup>koroṣ above\_all.

Parallel to its function in copula noun expressions is the function of the copula in hypotactic actor and goal phrases; see 11. 2.

10. 2. Copula Action Phrases. These consist of a copula followed by an ad-nominal particle or a sequence of words that normally constitute an actor or goal phrase; they usually follow actor phrases in the sentence. The copula here, as in the distributions to be discussed subsequently, serves as a type-changer particle; in copula action phrases it may roughly be rend-

ered by the English verb 'to be': nowmi<sup>ˈ</sup>səri<sup>ˈ</sup>me<sup>ˈ</sup>ryémen  
you have two children (lit.: your children are two),  
 í<sup>ˈ</sup>m<sup>ˈ</sup>me kàrakarrá<sup>ˈ</sup>k the house is low, pó<sup>ˈ</sup>npey me<sup>ˈ</sup>sà<sup>ˈ</sup>p<sup>ˈ</sup>  
 lígan<sup>ˈ</sup>è<sup>ˈ</sup>u Ponape is a beautiful island (lit.: country),  
 rá<sup>ˈ</sup>n<sup>ˈ</sup>wet<sup>ˈ</sup>me ká<sup>ˈ</sup>to<sup>ˈ</sup>w to-day is a rainy day (lit.: day this  
is rain).

Before the ad-nominal particle (adjective) mwaw  
good the copula has a stressed colloquial alternant mú;  
 the copula action phrase mú<sup>ˈ</sup>mwaw lit.: is good is used  
 extremely frequently in colloquial speech to give assent,  
 as English 'all right', 'O. K.'; some native speakers  
 claim that the 'correct' form ought to be mé<sup>ˈ</sup>mwaw, but  
 that form is not in use. The vowel change in the altern-  
 ant appears to be due to labialization by assimilation  
 to the preceding m and ensuing mw.

10. 3. Copula Goal Phrases. These consist of a  
 copula followed by a sequence of phrases normally consti-  
 tuting a sentence; they follow action phrases in the sent-  
 ence. The copula here again serves as a type-changer part-  
 icle; in copula goal phrases, it may be roughly translated  
 by the English conjunction 'that' or not translated at  
 all: í<sup>ˈ</sup>mwíneki me<sup>ˈ</sup>í<sup>ˈ</sup>pá<sup>ˈ</sup>n tìyar<sup>ˈ</sup>ápwal I think (that) I  
shall find difficulty, where me<sup>ˈ</sup> followed by the sent-  
 ence í<sup>ˈ</sup>pá<sup>ˈ</sup>n tìyar<sup>ˈ</sup>ápwal constitutes the copula goal  
 phrase; other examples are: só<sup>ˈ</sup>te me<sup>ˈ</sup>iráyl púra<sup>ˈ</sup>ŋ there  
is nothing that they give-back, kòmwi<sup>ˈ</sup>mwá<sup>ˈ</sup>ŋi me<sup>ˈ</sup>pwí<sup>ˈ</sup>k  
 kàŋ<sup>ˈ</sup>tentenmúsi (did) you know that pigs eat snails?

10. 4. Copula Attributive Phrases. These consist

of a copula followed by a sequence of phrases normally constituting a sentence; they follow actor and goal phrases in the sentence. As before, the copula here serves as a type-changer particle; in copula attributive phrases it may roughly be translated by English relative pronouns: kílel mé<sup>ˈ</sup>i kílaŋer ŋkápwano the-picture that I saw just-recently, where mé<sup>ˈ</sup> followed by the sentence ˈi kílaŋer ŋkápwano constitutes the copula attributive phrase; other examples are: í<sup>ˈ</sup>m<sup>ˈ</sup>me korú<sup>ˈ</sup>siye pópwitiyèr the-houses that all had-fallen, àrames<sup>ˈ</sup>kóros mé<sup>ˈ</sup>lémeleme só<sup>ˈ</sup>ŋ<sup>ˈ</sup>wet<sup>ˈ</sup> all those who think this way (lit.: people all who think manner this).

#### 10. 5. Noun-like Person Markers and Copula Phrases.

The actor phrase preceding a copula action phrase (10. 2.) or copula attributive phrase (10. 4.) may also consist of a noun-like person marker (cf. 6. 3. 5.), often followed by a syntactic particle or geminated with an ensuing noun: sè<sup>ˈ</sup>me<sup>ˈ</sup>ké<sup>ˈ</sup>layl we are well (lit.: strong), ŋáy<sup>ˈ</sup>me<sup>ˈ</sup>me<sup>ˈ</sup>ˈn<sup>ˈ</sup>pó<sup>ˈ</sup>npəy I am a Ponapean (lit.: I am one of Ponape); ŋáy<sup>ˈ</sup>me<sup>ˈ</sup>wá<sup>ˈ</sup>to I (am the one) who brought it, í<sup>ˈ</sup>me<sup>ˈ</sup>í<sup>ˈ</sup>yése it (is) what I know, ŋáy<sup>ˈ</sup>te<sup>ˈ</sup>me<sup>ˈ</sup>pa<sup>ˈ</sup>n<sup>ˈ</sup>álle only I will receive (lit.: I only who will receive), í<sup>ˈ</sup>sò<sup>ˈ</sup>ŋ mé<sup>ˈ</sup>pà<sup>ˈ</sup>n<sup>ˈ</sup>wiyáwi this (is the) manner (in) which (it) will be-done.

Noun-like person markers occur in other nominal distributions as well, but their occurrence before copula phrases is most frequent and most typical, since in these occurrences they are not replaceable by personal subject pronouns as they sometimes are in other contexts.

## XI. Phraseology: Hypotactic Phrases

11. 0. Hypotactic phrases consist of a phrase nucleus (verb expression or noun expression) linked by a the hypotactic particle M en, K en to an ensuing word or sequence of words that by itself would constitute a phrase or sentence. They differ from geminate phrases (see 9. 4.) by containing, unlike the latter, components of different syntactic type. The syntactic function of hypotactic phrases is determined by that of the first component: hypotactic phrases with initial verb expressions are action phrases; hypotactic phrases with initial noun expressions are actor or goal phrases; hypotactic goal phrases preceded by locative particles or noun-like prepositions with ensuing hypotactic particle constitute locative goal phrases. The non-initial components of hypotactic phrases, then, are subordinate to the syntactic function of the initial phrase nucleus; hence the term hypotactic is applied to these compound phrases and the particle linking their components. Initial components of hypotactic phrases in turn are termed determinant, non-initial components subordinate.

In all types of hypotactic phrases, the hypotactic particle M en, K en may undergo bilateral sandhi with preceding word-final vowel (cf. 2. 3. 2.); in addition, preceding morphemes have their sandhi alternants before the hypotactic particle ( cf. 2. 3. 1. 2.); in cases



where no bilateral sandhi occurs, the hypotactic particle often has an unstressed alternant *en*: *i^kòla·^n^ tótò·k* I go to work; *lì·y^en^wáy* foreign woman (lit.: woman of abroad); *ò·pis^en^wéy* district office (lit.: office of district).

Finally, a number of hypotactic actor and goal phrases are in grammatical close juncture (cf. 2.6., chapter XIII); in this distribution, juncture alternants *in* and sometimes *an* of the hypotactic particle are found.

11. 1. Hypotactic Action Phrases. The determinant component of hypotactic action phrases is a verb expression; subordinate components are sequences that would by themselves constitute action phrases or sentences with initial action phrase, sometimes also copula goal phrases; the hypotactic particle can in these contexts be rendered by the English pre-verb 'in order to', 'to': *i^kòla·^n^séylok* I go to travel, *i^kòto·^n^mómwayt* I came to take-a-walk, *kítà^kóla·^n wà·to^ay^képwe we* (d.) go to bring my things, *i^mwèsel^en^kó·la kítì* I leave in-order-to go (to) Kiti; *e^mwátoŋ^en^me ìra^tán* he plays a running game (lit.: he plays in-order-to that they [d.] run).

11. 2. Hypotactic Actor and Goal Phrases. The determinant component of hypotactic actor and goal phrases is a noun expression; subordinate components are word sequences that would by themselves constitute phrases or sentences of any type; the hypotactic particle can



in these contexts be rendered by the English preposition 'of': lokàya<sup>ˈ</sup>n<sup>ˈ</sup>pó·npey (noun, hypotactic particle, noun) language of Ponape, b·pis<sup>ˈ</sup>en<sup>ˈ</sup>wèy<sup>ˈ</sup>n<sup>ˈ</sup>kíʔi office of the district of Kiti, sòw<sup>ˈ</sup>n<sup>ˈ</sup>wiya<sup>ˈ</sup>kílel (noun, hypotactic particle, verb = action phrase, noun = goal phrase) photographer (lit.: man of making pictures), lnow<sup>ˈ</sup>en<sup>ˈ</sup>límpok promise of love, wàsa<sup>ˈ</sup>·n<sup>ˈ</sup>éni place of ghosts, wer<sup>ˈ</sup>en<sup>ˈ</sup>nán<sup>ˈ</sup>sap (noun, hypotactic particle, locative goal phrase) railway; automobile (lit.: canoe of on land).

The copula M me, K me (see chapter X) may serve as a noun substitute in hypotactic actor and goal phrases, giving me<sup>ˈ</sup>n in bilateral sandhi with the hypotactic particle in both dialects. These phrases can in English approximately be rendered by the phrase 'one of...', 'some of...': mè<sup>ˈ</sup>·n<sup>ˈ</sup>wáy foreigners (lit.: some of abroad), mè<sup>ˈ</sup>·n<sup>ˈ</sup>sápa·n Japanese, mè<sup>ˈ</sup>·n<sup>ˈ</sup>yó·sep Joseph's property (lit.: one of Joseph's), mè<sup>ˈ</sup>·n<sup>ˈ</sup>f·s whose (lit.: one of whom), mé<sup>ˈ</sup>·n<sup>ˈ</sup>ta never mind (lit.: is of what), mè<sup>ˈ</sup>·n<sup>ˈ</sup>káwa people of olden times, mè<sup>ˈ</sup>·n<sup>ˈ</sup>ko·la<sup>ˈ</sup>kíʔi one who wants to go to Kiti (lit.: one of going to Kiti).

The subordinate component of hypotactic actor and goal phrases sometimes contains a verb with preceding possessive pronoun (cf. locative goal phrases, 9. 3.; see also 6. 3. 4.), in turn often followed by a goal phrase: sènsel<sup>ˈ</sup>en<sup>ˈ</sup>ò·mwi<sup>ˈ</sup>mi<sup>ˈ</sup>pó·npey a-sign of your being (on) Ponape.

Hypotactic goal phrases preceded by locative part-

icles or noun-like prepositions with ensuing hypotactic particle constitute locative goal phrases:  
 ni<sup>ˈ</sup>èylape<sup>ˈ</sup>n<sup>ˈ</sup>pón at midnight (lit.: in middle of night),  
 ni<sup>ˈ</sup>wasa<sup>ˈ</sup>n<sup>ˈ</sup>tótó·k at (the) place of work, rè<sup>ˈ</sup>n<sup>ˈ</sup>me<sup>ˈ</sup>n<sup>ˈ</sup>  
 wáy with foreigners (lit.: at of some of abroad).

Locative goal phrases with initial noun-like preposition followed by the hypotactic particle (cf. 9. 3. 3.) may, incidentally, be considered a variety of hypotactic goal phrases as well: the noun-like preposition here takes the place of the determinant noun expression, just as the copula does in the examples cited above. They are, however, included in chapter IX instead of this, because in locative goal phrases the noun-like preposition with ensuing hypotactic particle can also be said to form a single constituent replacing the locative particle.

11. 3. Possessive Phrases. These may be considered inverted hypotactic actor and goal phrases; the hypotactic particle here precedes the noun expression consisting either of a common noun with preceding personal possessive pronoun or a proper noun, and followed in turn by a common noun with preceding personal possessive pronoun. Possessive phrases can in English be rendered by the Saxon genitive: en<sup>ˈ</sup>ay<sup>ˈ</sup>píryen nà<sup>ˈ</sup>séri my friend's child (lit.: of my friend his child), en<sup>ˈ</sup>sàwtel<sup>ˈ</sup>e<sup>ˈ</sup>wá·r sawtel's (section title) canoe, en<sup>ˈ</sup>nò pè·tren<sup>ˈ</sup>e<sup>ˈ</sup>pówt Pehtren's (proper name) wife.

## XII. Syntax: Standard Sentence Types

12.0. Sentences may include one or more phrases. Combinations of certain phrase types are more common than others in most conversational utterances - sentences consisting of these combinations will be referred to as standard sentence types; only standard sentence types will be discussed here. Less common - non-standard - types are reserved for a later, more detailed, study. Likewise, the treatment of certain particles functioning in the context of the sentence rather than the phrase and therefore belonging into syntax - here called syntactic particles - will be reserved for later.

Depending on the presence or absence of an action phrase in the sentence, two standard sentence types can be singled out: verbal sentences and binominal sentences. Verbal sentences are centered around action phrases; they consist of an action phrase alone, or an action phrase with adjoining actor and/or one or more goal and/or locative goal phrases. Binominal sentences include an actor phrase followed by a goal phrase, with no action phrase present. In verbal sentences the action phrase serves as predicate of the sentence, in binominal sentences the goal phrase - then called predicative goal phrase (cf. also 9.2.) - serves as predicate. In both sentence types, the actor phrase - if present - serves as subject; in

verbal sentences, the goal phrase - if present - serves as object.

Sentences may by themselves constitute complete utterances; semantically, they are therefore considered to be potentially self-contained, i. e. understandable within the situational context and without need for the inclusion of additional linguistic elements.

12.1. Verbal Sentences. Verbal sentences consisting of action phrases alone usually include, as initial member of the constituting action phrase, a personal subject pronoun functioning as logical, but not grammatical, subject: kì·t̃·sé·se we (excl.) don't know, ì·pa·n·kílaŋ I'll see, y'am·pòkəpəkəyúk I do love you (lit.: I, however, love-you), iráył sò·t̃e·kin·kák kò·kó·to they usually aren't able to come (lit.: they not usually can be-coming).

In verbal sentences containing an actor phrase in addition to the action phrase, the former usually precedes the latter. Here, incidentally, actor phrase and personal subject pronoun in the action phrase are not mutually exclusive; where they co-occur both are logical subjects, but only the actor phrase is grammatical subject - the personal subject pronoun, included in the action phrase, grammatically is part of the predicate: àramas·ménəŋ e·wóno·n (actor phrase, action phrase)  
this man, he is-lying-there, rì·ye·mə·t̃kisaŋ·á·p  
kin·kó·la kankànsenamwá·wi lòkolokayá·yoŋ (actor



phrase including copula attributive phrase, geminate action phrase) his younger brother would go over to him, cheer him up, talk to him (lit.: his-brother who is-smaller usually goes is-cheering-him-up is-talking-to-him).

In verbal sentences containing one goal phrase or locative goal phrase in addition to the action phrase the former usually follows the latter: kilikilán wása'tó (action phrase, goal phrase) he-looks-at-a-far place (lit.: place far), i'só·tə'kak nèkila·ŋ'ó·lət (action phrase, goal phrase) I can't (lit.: not can) reach-to this man, i'rón'mə mè·ññ'mótlok kin'wiyà·ta' i'm'pukaŋ (action phrase, copula goal phrase = copula actor-action-goal verbal sentence) I heard that the Mortlock people (lit.: some of Mortlocks) usually made such houses (lit.: houses these); mí·miŋə nan'pwé·lo (action phrase, locative goal phrase) (it) is-just on the-ground, i'pa·n'kó·to ni'álim (action phrase, locative goal phrase) I shall come on Friday.

In verbal sentences containing, in addition to the action phrase, both one or more goal phrases and a locative goal phrase, the usual sequence is action phrase, goal phrases, locative goal phrase: i'pa·n'kí·yox'mò·ni lóle I shall put the-money-inside, e'pá·n né·ke·ŋ pilàwa'áramas lákap he will distribute the-flour (to) the-people to-morrow, sipetésaŋ tí·p'nan i'm swept the dirt out of the house (lit.: swept-from dirt in house).

When two goal phrases follow an action phrase in



a verbal sentence, and the verb in the action phrase containing suffixes of the first and/or fifth position (cf. 4.1., 4.5.), the goal phrase semantically governed by these suffixes follows the other goal phrase: i'mén kawuliyánki náyp kîs'in'wár I want to exchange a knife for a model canoe (lit.: I want-to exchange-for knife bit-of-canoe), i'pwaynekí·ta mó·ni náyp I pay money for the knife (lit.: I pay-for money knife), i'káte·ki ó·lo tákay I throw a stone after the man (lit.: I throw-with man stone); é'kí·yon tà·la·ríyaw é·píryen he gave his friend two dollars (lit.: he gave-to dollars two his friend).

When both an actor phrase and goal and/or locative goal phrases are included in the verbal sentence in addition to the action phrase, the actor phrase usually precedes the action phrase, and the goal and/or locative goal phrases follow it in the order discussed above: àramas'kóros pil'kák tíyar ar'túŋol kîs'in'ké·p all the people can find their piece of yam, too (lit.: people all also can find their humiliative morpheme bit of yam), kîs'in'likow kò·pesəŋ'nán wéykan the letter (lit.: bit of cloth) went-out-among (in) the districts, mwàrrtikiŋkan é·pà·n'wá·to·mè tikiŋk (noun = actor, phrase, verb expression = action phrase, copula noun expression - goal phrase) the-small-titles they (lit.: he) will bring what (is) small.

12. 2. Binominal Sentences. Unlike the considerable variety encountered in verbal sentences

(see 12. 1. above), binominal sentences tend to follow the same general type: the actor phrase is usually to a noun or noun expression, the predicative goal phrase usually contains an adjective or is a hypotactic goal phrase, though other compositions were found as well: àrames<sup>^</sup>ménèt<sub>1</sub> insén<sup>^</sup>suwèt this person is dissatisfied (lit.: person this cheer bad), è<sup>^</sup>pówtèt<sub>1</sub> mès<sup>^</sup>én<sup>^</sup> insén<sup>^</sup>amwàw his wife here seems to be contented (lit.: his this-wife face of cheer good), pwì<sup>^</sup>k<sup>^</sup>pway<sup>^</sup>láwt pigs (are) price(d) high, má<sup>^</sup>net<sub>1</sub> mòmw<sup>^</sup>én<sup>^</sup>likó<sup>^</sup>t<sub>1</sub>ape this animal (has) the-face of an-owl (or) the-like; but also - K àrayl<sup>^</sup>líkow waywáy<sub>1</sub>lól their clothing (is) lock-straps.

### XIII. Compounding

13.0.      Compounds are formed by superimposing a phonological process on the juxtaposed component morphemes; the same morphemes juxtaposed without phonological change constitute a non-compound phrase or sentence. The phonological processes involved in compound formation are stress shift and grammatical close juncture. The latter also occurs automatically in a number of instances where distributional conditions are favorable, and was therefore partially described in chapter II. The former, however, is restricted to distinctive instances: sàkaw<sup>ˈ</sup>súwet (juxtaposition) bad kava (lit.: kava bad), but - sakáw<sup>ˈ</sup>suwet (compound with shifted stress) nasty drunk; sèy<sup>ˈ</sup>só·p (juxtaposition) row a-ship, but - séy<sup>ˈ</sup>so·p (compound with shifted stress) mix with the sailors (term from whaling times). In a number of cases, both stress shift and grammatical close juncture mark compounding: en<sup>ˈ</sup>lìrorr<sup>ˈ</sup>e<sup>ˈ</sup>mwá·y possessive phrase, cf. 11. 3.) Lirorr's spot (lit.: of Lirorr her spot), but - mwéy<sup>ˈ</sup>n<sup>ˈ</sup>liròrr (compound with grammatical close juncture and shifted stress) birthmark.

As can be seen from the above examples, semantically compounds are characterized by a single compound meaning, sometimes in addition to, and sometimes quite specialized and distinct from, the addition of the

meanings of the component morphemes. Distributionally, compounds are not significantly different from juxtapositions of the same morphemes - they share the same distributions within larger frames: lí·yoko sèyˆsó·p the-women row the-ship, as lí·yoko sèyˆso·p the women mix with the sailors.

Stress shift affects noun expressions consisting of noun and adjective, geminate actor and goal phrases consisting of two nouns, hypotactic actor and goal phrases consisting of two nouns connected by the hypotactic particle, and verbal sentences consisting of action verb followed by goal noun. Grammatical close juncture affects these same units, and in addition also nouns containing personal possessive suffixes (cf. 6.3.3.), and ad-nominal particles containing classifiers (cf. 8.2.)

13.1. Stress Shift. In all of the phrases and sentences subject to stress shift, the unshifted stress pattern is characterized by main stress on the last word of the unit, and optional secondary stress on the first: kàya·nˆm<sup>w</sup>áw (noun expression) good habits, ò·lˆlíkam (geminate phrase) liar (lit.: man lie), ìnowˆnˆlímpok (hypotactic phrase) promise of love, wàˆú·ṭ (verbal sentence) carry bananas.

In compounding, stress is shifted to the first component; in hypotactic compounds, stress is in some cases also shifted to the hypotactic particle. The latter instance of stress shift often appears to be character-

ized, semantically, by a compound meaning even more remote from the sum of those of the component morphemes than in other compounds: wasá·l¹l¹l deep place on a reef (lit.: place of inside); examples of other instances are: l¹l¹suwet bad character (lit.: inside bad), as in the geminate phrase ð·l¹l¹l¹suwet a-man (of) bad character, páyo¹meʈe iron (smoking) pipe (lit.: pipe iron: traditional song), ú·n¹ant rise of Ant (place on Ant island where ghosts were said to assemble), pwék¹sèrək hoist sail.

13. 2. Grammatical Close Juncture. Phonological processes involved in grammatical close juncture are discussed in 2. 6.; as can be seen from the contrastive examples given there, grammatical close juncture neednot affect all the morphemes contained in a phrase, but only two contiguous ones, which then are in a semantic compound relationship as over the other morphemes of the phrase: sòŋ'en'má.net̚ the-kind of this-animal in which sòŋ'en' the-kind of is a compound juxtaposed to 'má.net̚ this animal, as opposed to sò.ŋ'en'mén'wet̚ this kind of animal, where the hypotactic phrase sò.ŋ'en'mén' kind of animal is compounded to the demonstrative particle 'wet̚ this.

In a large number of instances grammatical close juncture is automatic upon contact of relevant morphemes, one of which is a noun stem or classifier with juncture alternant. As the latter part of this statement implies, only certain noun stems and classifiers



are affected, since not all of these morphemes have juncture alternants. These alternants, then, have to be listed individually for each morphemes.

Noun stems that do have juncture alternants are automatically subject to grammatical close juncture before personal possessive suffixes: sa·p land - sá·pwey my land, pa·y luck - pé·yey my luck, wa·r body - wé·remwén that body of yours; for additional examples see 6. 3. 3. Classifiers that have juncture alternants are subject to grammatical close juncture both before demonstrative suffixes and after numeral stems: -u·m- - ú·mwiyeṭ this, pá·um four (cf. 8. 2. 3. 2.).

Noun stems as determinants of hypotactic phrases <sup>their</sup> have juncture alternants if they are compounded with the hypotactic particle as shown above; other examples are: pí·l·en·tú·tu bathwater, ol·en·wáy foreigner, mé·s·en lí·nə·rí·nə·rí·yən ná·<sup>^</sup>seri he looks like (lit.: face of being-anry-at his child). These examples appear to parallel the cases of grammatical close juncture before personal possessive suffixes; the grammatical affinity of the latter to the hypotactic particle - overlapping the integration patterns of word and phrase - is also shown in the fact that prepositional stems are limited to occurrence before these two classes of morphemes (cf. 9. 3. 3.).

In addition, noun stems are sometimes found in grammatical <sup>close</sup> juncture before demonstrative particles: ma·n animal - sò·ŋ·en·mén·wəṭ this kind of animal (see above).

In other distributions, grammatical close juncture

is found jointly with stress shift (see below).

13. 3. Combined Stress Shift and Grammatical Close Juncture. In compounds with shifted stress, nouns with juncture alternants show the latter under the stress: so'r looks - sór'amwàw (noun-adjective compound) good looks, sa'l rope - sél'emp (geminate compound) oemp tie (i. e. a relationship as brittle as a rope made of oemp fiber), mwa'y spot, color - mwéy'n'liròrr (hypotactic compound) birthmark (lit.: spot of Lirorr; see above).

In hypotactic compounds with stress on the hypotactic particle, both adjacent nouns have their juncture alternants: pe's ashes, home, ma'n animal - pes'én'men animal burrow, páli part, side, mwa'm fish - peliy'én'mwom swarm of fish.

## Appendix to Part I

Previous treatments of Ponapean grammar include:

L(uther) H. Gulick, M. D., Notes on the Grammar of the Ponape Dialect, Honolulu, Commercial Advertiser Press, 1858. 39 pp.

Luther H. Gulick, M. D., A Vocabulary of the Ponape Dialect....., with a Grammatical Sketch. JAOS 10.1-109 (1872).

Dr. (Max) Girschner, Grammatik der Ponapesprache, Mitteilungen des Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen an der Kgl. Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität zu Berlin, Erste Abteilung: Ostasiatische Studien, 9.73-126 (1906).

Dr. Paul Hambruch, Ponape, I. Teilband. Ergebnisse der Südsee-Expedition 1908-1910, II. Ethnographie: B. Mikronesien, Band 7. Hamburg, 1932. Die Sprache: pp. 360-365.

In his Notes on the Grammar, Gulick uses diacritics (macron  $\bar{\phantom{a}}$  and micron  $\text{~}$ ) to differentiate long and short vowels, but does not make any distinction in his transcription between open o, e, and closed o, e. He does, however, note the existence of two mid back vowels, and excuses his use of the same symbol for both: "It must be said that the use of  $\text{ö}$  to represent the aw sound is somewhat objectionable, but it has seemed the simplest solution of a considerable difficulty." (p. 5)

Gulick also has correctly identified the many free variants of the Ponapean sibilant as members of what today would be called the same phoneme: "There is a series of sounds ranging between g soft, i proper, ch, and di which different ears, or the same ear at different times, will catch interchangeably and some of the softer of which, some individuals will prefer to call a decided sh. It would therefore seem but expedient that one character represent them all; and it must be remarked that the soft sound of g is perhaps the truest rendering of the whole group." (p. 6)

If we accept Gulick's phonetic description as correct for the period of his stay on Ponape (1852-9) and contrast it with the phonetic facts prevailing today, we can note that in the intervening span the sibilant phoneme s has definitely become de-voiced and de-affricated (present predominant variants are all voiceless spirants: s - ś - š).

The Grammatical Sketch following Gulick's Vocabulary is an abridged version of the 1858 Notes, revised on the basis of the vocabulary. In the sketch, a distinction is made between open o, e, and closer o, e - mentioned, but not distinguished in the transcription, in the Notes: "e and o (long and short) denote the opener qualities of e and o...." (p. 96). Likewise, e is included in the list: "o represents the 'neutral' vowel-sound....; it does not occur as long." (p. 96).

Girschner notes the dialectal differences on Ponape and bases his grammar on the Kiti dialect. He differentiates vowel quantity, as well as open and closed mid vowels, but his transcription is somewhat overloaded with symbols. His description of the sibilant allophones (rendered by j) parallels that of Gulick. Neither Gulick, nor Girschner, nor later Hambruch, have identified, or marked the distinction between, the dental and post-alveolar stops t and ṭ; Girschner and Hambruch often transcribe the latter of the two in final position as tš.

Hambruch has on the whole followed a policy of meticulous (and not always quite correct) notation of phonetic details. He differentiates between short and long vowels, and open and closed for not only mid, but high and low (!) vowels as well. He rather confusingly notes a large number of incidental variants of all the consonants, but does not mention the essential contrast of dental t and post-alveolar ṭ. His list of sounds contains the velar (and palatal?) fricatives x, ɣ, and the velar (palatal?) nasal ŋ which this investigator did not record. Hambruch's copious texts throughout the three Teilbände of his work are usable only with the help of native informants, and will have to be retranscribed in order to be of linguistic value.



## PART II:      PONAPEAN CONVERSATIONAL TEXTS

### Introduction

The conversational texts presented here are literal transcripts of unrehearsed conversations of native informants, recorded on Ponape. Literal translations are inserted after each sentence of the text, and a free translation of the entire conversation is given at the end of each. In the transcription, non-linguistic noises such as coughs, knocks, have been included as far as possible, but are given in parentheses. Some few morphemes of the Ponapean text could not be translated; they are marked by a parenthetical note (untranslated). Series of dots (.....) mark incomplete utterances or hesitation pauses.

This investigator participated to a small extent in some of the conversations; his remarks, though of course not very representative of Ponapean speech, are included for the sake of completeness. Occasional words and utterances in German are likewise included in paren-

theses in order to preserve the continuity of the texts, but are not transcribed phonemically.

Finally, a few directions about the entry and exit of participants in the conversations are included.

## Conversation I

Participants: Joseph Iriarti, Nahnken of Net;  
William Helgenberger of Matolenihm, friend of Joseph  
Iriarti's; P. L. G.

Date: 24 November 1947

This conversation was initiated by another CIMA participant, S. H. Riesenberg, who asked Iriarti and Helgenberger to discuss some features of Ponapean social organization. Both of these informants, incidentally, are rather fluent speakers of German and became strongly acculturated to the Germans in the days of the German colonial administration on Ponape.

W. H.: ya^sówpeytì kèyla^`n^áyu írayl^kin pópowt  
tó·to where^the-Sowpeytis (highest chiefs) in^olden^  
days they^usually wives many mî·ye^mé^lél lí·y^è·k  
ryémen there-were who^reached women^ten two arí well  
èmen^nan^pún^aràyl kin^atàniki^`nen^mwó·t one^in^ranks^  
their usually^was-called^straight^sit (main wife)....

J. I.: e·y yes

W. H.: o^·mé^`feykan íráyl.... and^the-others they....

J. I.: péke· co-wife

W. H.: péke· co-wives í·arí mé^re sò·g^etè^lítu

it then that they kind only (of) servant kisé n' i. m. ....  
implement of house ....

J. I.: (mumble)

W. H.: kàyte k'árames not-either a-human-being

J. I.: ey yes

P. L. G.: ey yes

W. H.: àri má s well formerly ò l me pa n sá na teta  
rè n inen mwò t e pa n pé ki ta a-man who will be-tired-  
of next to straight sit (main wife) he will take-a-co-wife  
te àlle mwéymwey sán inen mwò t pwe n kò la n sá leték re ....  
or get permission from straight sit because should go  
in-order-to have-freedom next ....

J. I.: rè n me t é y kan next to the-others

W. H.: me t é y kan the-others arí well i á nsow n  
me è pá n ká k e n it time of what he will be-able-to-do-to  
sá leték t è freedom or (ja, ja, wie ist das?)

J. I.: pé n la go-on-the-side

W. H.: pé n la go-on-the-side

P. L. G.: pé n la é go-on-the-side eh?

W. H.: (ja)

J. I.: (so)

W. H.: i tuwe n á t t i ya k en p ó n pey it thus of

our (excl.) habit of Ponape

P. L. G.: a ah

W. H.: á komwáył mē n way sé se but you some of abroad don't know i mēn pil rō ekis má komwáył kin yān wiyá te só I want also hear a bit it you usually are with do or no

P. L. G.: só no me n way miya tiya k ē kis tūwepēnēte some of abroad there is habit a bit similar (lit.: thus-together-only) ni a nsow n miya nā nmwarrkiy en way in time of there were Nahnmwarrki of abroad (kings)...

J. I.: o oh (kings)

P. L. G.: (Könige) arí (König) miya pówt (Königin) well (K.) there is a spouse (K.) o pil miye li tō to mé nā nmwarrkiy en way kō la wēnti mp en iráył and also there are women many that... Nahnmwarrki of abroad goes lies-down next to them

J. I.: o oh

P. L. G.: wēnti mparáył ó me atániki (Konkubinen) lies-down next-to-them and who are-called (K.)

J. I.: (Konkubinen)

W. H.: (oh, ja).... (mumble, chuckle)

P. L. G. a a a... but but but... ekis tūwēte kērirr o o péke péne a bit like secret-love and and co-wife together



J. I.: pékeypèns co-wifing-together

P. L. G.: e·y yes

W. H.: pékeypèns co-wifing-together

P. L. G.: (zusammen)

J. I.: e·y yes (mumble)

W. H.: e·y yes (mumble)

P. L. G.: (die beiden)

W. H.: àmma^sé... wiyawiyà·ta^séri but^if^chi...  
is-making^a-child

P. L. G.: tá·^koṭ what^thing

J. I.: ma^lí·ye wiyà·ta^séri if^the-woman makes^  
a-child

P. L. G.: ó· só·ṭe... oh not...

J. I.: pá·n^ellè pá·n^(Thronfolger) ta^só· will^perhaps  
will^(Th.) or^not

P. L. G.: sò·^sò·^sò·^só· no^no^no^no ma^lí·ye^  
wiyà·ta^séri arí e· ná·nmwarrki^pà·n píłata émen mwàrr^  
iléyla if^the-woman^makes^a-child then (er) the-Nahnmwarrki^  
will choose one title(d)^high o·^ó·lo ú·ta·n pòwtski^  
lí·ye and^that-man certainly marries^the-woman (chuckle)

W. H.: o·... ì·t^iráyl^è· and... thus^they^eh?

J. I.: kitàyl'só· we(pl.incl.)^not pò·npey'só·  
Ponape^not mà'lí· àrames^mwá·l pá·n lise·yànta'o·^  
náyṭik a·^nà·^serí·yo pá·n^kisé·la òloíso· pá·n  
yàṇala'iléyla if^a-woman person^common becomes-pregnant^  
and^gives-birth but^her^that-child will^come-out-to-be  
Sowpeyti-stock will be-with^high

P. L. G., W. H.: (hm)

J. I.: wiyá·la aràmes^láwt will-make person^great

P. L. G., W. H.: (hm hm)

J. I.: í·^tuwe^n^kí·ṭ it^thus^of^us(excl.) kí·ṭ^  
sò·ṭe^pa·n^nekí·la we(excl.)^not^will^finish(?)

P. L. G., W. H.: (hm hm)

P. L. G.: só kàyte·n^ná·nmwarrkiy^en^wáy no not-either^  
Nahnmwarrki^of^abroad iráyl e· má (Konkubine) náyṭik té  
lísé·yaṇ they (er) if (K.) gives-birth or becomes-pregnant

J. I. (correcting): lísé·yan becomes-pregnant

P. L. G.: ni^à·nsow^n^é^lísé·yaṇ ná·nmwarrkiy^en^wáy  
e· pá·n^tíyar in^the-time^of^she^becomes-pregnant  
Nahnmwarrki^of^abroad (er) will^find

J. I.: émen one

P. L. G.: ó·l^emen mwarr^iléyla mé^pa·n pòwteki^  
lí·yo man^one title^high who^will^marry^that-woman

J. I.: o· oh

P. L. G.: ó· sèriyo<sup>^</sup>pá·n lí· e sèriy<sup>^</sup>en<sup>^</sup>ó·lo  
 me<sup>^</sup>pówteki e· (Konkubine) and that-child will woman (er)  
child of that-man who married (er) (K.)

J. I.: ó· mwáwla oh has-become-good

W. H.: mwáwla has-become-good

J. I.: púŋela has-become-correct

W. H.: púŋela has-become-correct

J. I.: kiṭàyl<sup>^</sup>só· we not

P. L. G.: èkis<sup>^</sup>wúkisaŋ<sup>^</sup>pó·npey a-bit different-from  
Ponape

J. I.: èkis<sup>^</sup>wúkisaŋ a-bit different-from

P. L. G.: a·nsòwəṭ<sup>^</sup>sólá·r time-this has-become-no

J. I.: sólá·r has-become-no

P. L. G.: e·y yes pwè·ki<sup>^</sup>a·nsówəṭ mīya<sup>^</sup>típwisow  
 én tè·r<sup>^</sup>wīya<sup>^</sup>séri because time-this there-is thing  
in-order-to shouldn't make children

J. I.: e·y e·y yes yes

P. L. G.: á· ni<sup>^</sup>á·nsow<sup>^</sup>n<sup>^</sup>káwa en<sup>^</sup>yúrop só·ṭe  
 kīn<sup>^</sup>mīye but in times of old of Europe not usually  
there-was

W. H.: a· ah

J. I.: ò·sòwpeyti·kóros pwá mè·kák kámwògè·lí·  
 àrayl·pówteki lì·tò·to and·sowpeyti·all right who·can  
 feed·women they·marry women·many

W. H.: lì·tò·to women·many

J. I.: e·y yes

W. H.: kák àpwapwáli mè·kák kámwògè kì·yòg·kìs·in·  
 mwògè can take-care-of who·can feed give·a-bit·of·food

P. L. G.: e·y yes

J. I.: a· mè·n·way·tò·ror·è· ah some·of·abroad·  
 different·eh?

W. H.: (cough, cough) a· píl·e·u·míye ah also·  
 one·there-is

P. L. G.: tá·koṭ what·thing

W. H.: sìpel·en·pó·n·war exchange·of·above·of·canoe  
 (wife-swapping)

P. L. G.: (hm)

J. I.: sìpel·en·pó·n·war exchange·of·above·of·canoe  
 (wife-swapping)

P. L. G.: tà·koṭ·mó? what·thing·there? tùwètè·  
 lón·en·sèy like·underpinnings·of·voyage (women offered  
 to high-born travelers)

J. I.: (mumble)

P. L. G.: sìpel'en'pó·n'war exchange of above  
of canoe (wife-swapping) tà·koṭ'mó what thing there

W. H.: sìpel'en'pó·n'war exchange of above of  
canoe (wife-swapping) kòm'pópowt you(hon.) married

P. L. G.: e'y yes

W. H.: ḡáy pópowt I married

P. L. G.: e'y yes

W. H.: arí kíṭa (m·) ìnen'en'píryen well we (hm)  
straight of friends

P. L. G.: e'y yes

W. H.: pòkepòkpéne are-loving-each-other

P. L. G.: (hm)

W. H.: kíṭa·kín mì·mipéne wása·kis mwòḡemwòḡepéne te  
mómwayṭsèli o·wà·ta'pówtaka yáḡkíṭa we usually are-together  
place some eat-together or walk-around and bring-up spouses  
join-us(d.) katèketè·o'ó· i'mwáwki kíyonkomwi'ay'pówt from-  
time-to-time and I am-good-by give-you my wife kòm'kíyonḡiye  
you give-me

P. L. G.: a· ah (mumble) wiliyànti'pówt exchange-wives

W. H.: séns séns (untranslated)

P. L. G.: é·u'te é·u'te one only one only

P. L. G.: é·u'te one only (ahem)



W. H.: sipel'en'pó·'n'war exchange of above of canoe

P. L. G.: sipel'en'pó·'n'war exchange of above of  
canoe

J. I.: sipel'en'pó·'n'war exchange of above of canoe  
(noch nicht geschrieben, noch nicht geschrieben)

(Note: J. I. was referring to the fact that Rosenberg  
had not yet taken any notes on wife-swapping)

S. H. R.: (Was ist das wohl)

J. I.: sipel'en'pó·'n'war exchange of above of canoe

W. H.: sipel'en'pó·'n'war exchange of above of canoe

(Continued mostly in German for Rosenberg's benefit)

Free Translation

- J.I. Well, the Sowpeyti in the olden days used to have many wives. There were many who had as many as twelve. There was one of them who was called 'main wife.'
- W.H. Yes, and the others they.....
- J.I. Co-wives.
- W.H. Co-wives. Well, they were only sort of servants, house implements, not human beings.
- J.I. Yes.
- P.L.G. Yes.
- W.H. Well, formerly a man who would get bored with his main wife would take a co-wife or ask permission from his main wife to be free to go to....
- J.I. To others.
- W.H. Others. Then he would be able to find freedom or.....; well, how was it anyway?
- J.I. Step out.
- W.H. Step out. This is our Ponapean custom and you foreigners don't do it. I would like to hear a little about whether you do the same or not.
- P.L.G. No. We foreigners had a slightly ximilar custom. In the days when the foreigners had their kings.....
- J.I. Oh, kings.
- P.L.G. Kings. Well, the king would have a wife, queen, and then there would be many women with whom the king of the foreigners would go to sleep.
- J.I. Oh.
- P.L.G. Go to sleep, and whose name would be concubines.
- J.I. Concubines.
- W.H. Oh, well. (chuckle)
- P.L.G. It is something like secret love and having a co-wife at the same time.
- W.H. Co-wife at the same time.

P.L.G. Yes.

W.H. And if there is a child?

P.L.G. What?

J.I. If the woman gives birth to a child?

P.L.G. Oh, it isn't.....

J.I. Will it perhaps be a successor to the throne or not?

P.L.G. No, no, no, no. If the woman gives birth to a child then, er, the king will choose a man of high rank and this man will have to marry that woman.

W.H. Oh, is that how they do it?

J.I. Not us. Not Ponape. If a woman who is a commoner becomes pregnant and gives birth, still her child will be of Sowpeyti stock. It will also be of high rank.

P.L.G. and W.H. Hm.

J.I. It will be of a person of high rank.

P.L.G. and W.H. Hm, hm.

J.I. That's how we do it. We won't let it go at that.

P.L.G. and W.H. Hm, hm.

P.L.G. No, not the kings of the foreigners. They, er, if the concubine gives birth or becomes pregnant...

J.I. Pregnant.

P.L.G. In the time of her pregnancy the king of the foreigners will find..

J.I. Somebody.

P.L.G. A man of high rank who will marry that woman.

J.I. Oh.

P.L.G. And the child will be, er, the child of the man who married...er.. the concubine.

J.I. Oh, that's it.

W.H. That's it.

J.I. That's right.

W.H. That's right.

P.L.G. Somewhat different from Ponape.

J.I. Somewhat different.

P.L.G. Now, that sort of thing is passed.

J.I. It's passed.

P.L.G. Yes, because now we have things so we would not have children.

J.I. Yes, yes.

P.L.G. But, in the old days in Europe there wasn't any such thing.

W.H. Ah.

J.I. Oh, all the Sowpeyti who could support women, they would marry many women.

W.H. Many women.

J.I. Yes.

W.H. Those who could take care of them, could support them, could feed them.

P.L.G. Yes.

J.I. And the foreigners are different huh?

W.H. (cough, cough)...And there is another thing.

PLG. What?

W.H. Wife-swapping.

PLG. Hm.

J.I. Wife-swapping.

PLG. What's that? Is that like offering your wife to a high-born guest?

J.I. (mumbles)

PLG. Wife-swapping, what's that?

W.H. Wife-swapping is like this. You're married, I'm married.

PLG. Yes.

W.H. Married.

PLG. Yes.

W.H. Now we are....hm....really good friends.

PLG. Yes.

W.H. We love each other.

PLG. Hm.

W.H. We're together somewhere. We eat together or we talk around together and we are taking our wives with us from time to time. I want to give you my wife and you give me...

PLG. Ah, exchange wives.

W.H. No, not really.

PLG. Exchange.

W.H. Only for once.

PLG. Only once, eh.

W.H. It's wife-swapping. That's all.



## Conversation II

Participants: Jacobus of Sokehs and a number of unidentified Ponapean speakers; P. L. G.

Date: 25 November 1947

This conversation was unstaged as well as unrehearsed - all participants were sitting at different distances from the recording microphone, and not all voices could be recorded with equal power and quality. Many passages were not completely understandable; the transcription therefore is quite incomplete.

Female voice: mwáwon`ápe`n mi`ni`saláney better-  
than`that-thing`of is`in`my-ear

Jacobus: y`ápwe`suwetiki`ta pwi`nlí`yéto í`how-  
ever`feel-bad-about this-woman`s-company-there

Male voice: me`púŋ.... is`right....

Jacobus: ....kiṭáyŋ sò`ṭe`pa`n`wiyá`ta kòsoy`ṭé`  
pwoṭ.... ....we not`shall`make story`only`one....

Male voice: wiyá`ta kòsoyṭéyo make another-story  
~~~~~

Jacobus: mò`í`mmetṭ kiṭáyŋ`en`pil kòsoy`kapérren  
there`it`here we`should`also story`make-gay

Male voice: e` eh kòsoy`kapérren mè`pá`n.... story`  
~~~~~  
make-gay which`will....

Female voice: ki·t̃·à·p̃·ko·to·ró·no·ro·ñ we·but·came·  
to-be-hearing

Jacobus: é·y í·mo.... yes it̃ there....

Female voice: è·men·t̃·e·kumwura·ta.... (chuckle) one·  
only·jokes

P..L. G.: komwáyl·pil lokolokayá·t̃·e you·also are-  
talking-only e· (chuckle) eh? sò·t̃·e·lipilipil... not·  
difference....

Male voice: a·nsòwə·t̃·pò·kepò·ke.... time-this·am-sorry....

Jacobus: solà·r·men·wiyá·wi pwe·m̃·t̃·a·nsòwə·t̃ e·àlleallé·yer  
a·t̃·ayl·loká·ya.... (chuckle) has-stopped·want-to·be-done  
because·here·time-this he·has-been-receiving our·speech....

Male voice: m· m· (hm hm)

Jacobus: a·í·men kit̃·ayl·en kéle·p̃·t̃·e pwi·nwolet̃  
but·it̃ there we·should alone·or·this-men's-company.

Male voice: é· é·y eh yes

Jacobus: pwe·kit̃·ayl·en kosokosò·ỹ·é·l̃·l̃·f̃ because·we·  
should be-talking·of·women a·mm̃·t̃·e pwi·nli·ỹ·t̃·e à·m·pil·  
kawé·la but·here women's-company but·also·destroyed  
i·pa·n·wiyà·ta·p̃·il·apwə·t̃ me·k̃·epwe·n·kó·wrurr I·shall·do·  
also·one·which·things·of·laughter

Male voice: ey ey yes yes

Female voice: pa·n·kilisow·ó·npown mé.... will(bei)·  
naked(?)·Ohnpown who.... ó·npo..pòwn kòmwí·kosóy·en  
mme·n·pó·npey·a yèremen·mén.... Ohnpò-pown you(hon.)·  
story·of some·of·Ponape·but don't·that....

P. L. G.: o·kaselé·lya.... oh, hello.... (mumble,  
chuckle).... áyyar well\_well kílax look kaselé·lya mè·n·  
kúsa·y hello one·of·Kusaie....

Male voice: píl·kápwaṭaka.... also·the-clothes....

P. L. G.: éyya.... well\_well.... líkow·n·pó·npey....  
clothes·of·Ponape....

Female voice: om·kápwaṭakan mú·mwàw your·garments  
are-good

Jacobus: méṭ sò·ṭe·kaṭow·kák kò·ko·la·lólé here  
not·rain·can be-going·inside

P. L. G.: e· eh? só· só·ṭe·kin ko·kò·la·lólé.... no  
not·usually is-going·inside.... (cough, cough, mumble)....  
ma·kaṭow nò·n·kaláymun ari·kák ko·kò·la·lólé if·rain  
too·big then·can be-going·inside a·mma·só· àri·mú·mwaw·è·  
and·if·not then·is·good·eh?

Jacobus: kàyte·k·ínte ma·kaṭow·no·n·kaláymun not-  
either·at-all if·rain·too·big ma·kaṭow·láwt if·rain·  
large

P. L. G. é·y yes ma·kaṭow·láwt if rain large ma·  
nó·n·lawt if·too·large

Jacobus: é·y éy yes yes a·pà·n·pwár (chuckle,  
chuckle) it will through pà·n·pwár will through

P. L. G.: é·y yes e·pà·n·pwár.... it will through....  
arí... well....

Jacobus: e·y yes

Female voice: a·kíre oh·Kíre kènom·kis·in·piláwa  
pà·n·mi·nan·misi·no your-food bit of bread will be in  
the-machine.... (chuckle).....

P. L. G.: arí well tà·me·komwayl·pà·n wíyawíya  
(chuckle, chuckle).... what is you(pl.) will be-doing....

Jacobus: pwì·nlí·yo màsakàla·a·lòkàya the-group-  
of-women is-afraid-of our(excl.) talk (chuckle)

Male voice: tèt·n·mwòninigin·mwá·l pwe·à·pà·n·kò·la·  
lòle.... only of chatter common because it will go inside....  
(chuckle, mumble, laughter)....

Jacobus: .... kòsoy·en·kúsay·tè om·kemè·la·ków.... (chuckle)  
.... story of Kusaie or your killing cow.... (chuckle)  
kòsoyá·tè om·kemè·la·ków tell-only your killing cow

Male voice: i·ká·ŋ I don't want to i·sò·tè·pà·n  
pàta·kíyong I not will make-known-to...

P. L. G.: áyya well well tènè·lí·yo kèrirrki·ó·lo  
they-say that-woman is-infatuated-with that-man

Jacobus: e·màsak·lòkàya she is-afraid to-speak  
~~~~~

P. L. G.: (hm?)

Jacobus: ékis mäsak<sup>^</sup>lokáya a-bit is-afraid<sup>^</sup>to-speak

P. L. G.: ékis mäsak<sup>^</sup>lokáya a-bit is-afraid<sup>^</sup>to-speak

Jacobus: lí·yo that-woman

P. L. G.: lí·yo that-woman

Jacobus: ó·yà oh yeah

P. L. G.: é·y yes iráyl<sup>^</sup>kin<sup>^</sup>ése<sup>^</sup>mà.... they<sup>^</sup>usually<sup>^</sup>  
know<sup>^</sup>if.... a<sup>^</sup>iráyl<sup>^</sup>sò·tè mäsak<sup>^</sup>kówrurr but<sup>^</sup>they<sup>^</sup>not are-  
afraid<sup>^</sup>to-laugh

Jacobus: (chuckle) e·y yes (chuckle, laughter)

Male voice: komwáyl<sup>^</sup>tè·pa mweséysi.... you(pl.)<sup>^</sup>don't<sup>^</sup>  
suddenly fidget....

Female voice: tà·i<sup>^</sup>pá·n mwèneníñin what<sup>^</sup>I<sup>^</sup>shall  
chatter í·pwe.... it because.... tà·pa·n<sup>^</sup>wiyawiya misí·ne  
páte·r what<sup>^</sup>till<sup>^</sup>be-doing<sup>^</sup>this-machine<sup>^</sup>floor....

Male voice: sò·tè<sup>^</sup>èkiye no<sup>^</sup>difference í·men pàkayrkíla·r  
it<sup>^</sup>there<sup>^</sup>has-announced-with

Female voice: lokáya<sup>^</sup>ṭikiṭík<sup>^</sup>a· pil<sup>^</sup>míyete<sup>^</sup>lòle speech<sup>^</sup>  
small<sup>^</sup>but also<sup>^</sup>is-only<sup>^</sup>inside

Jacobus: míye<sup>^</sup>lòle is<sup>^</sup>inside

P. L. G.: tá·koṭ míye<sup>^</sup>lòle what<sup>^</sup>thing is<sup>^</sup>inside

Jacobus: lókaya kórus kò·la<sup>^</sup>lòle speech all goes<sup>^</sup>inside



P. L. G.: èy`èy`éy yes yes yes kórus kò·la`lólé....  
all goes inside.... áyya oh well arí kòm`pa·n`námenek  
then you(hon.)`will`be-ashamed

Jacobus: sò·tè`kàtèpè`námenek`pwè`à`pa·n`wà·la`  
amérika no`use`be-ashamed`because`he`will`take`there`  
America a`kàyte·k`íntè`rè`pa·n`kilikilán`meséye`but`  
not-either`at-all`they`will`be-seeing`this-face-of-mine

P. L. G.: (eh)

Male voice: me·n`amérika sò·tè`pa·n`té·te·ki some`  
of`America`not`will`understand (mumble, chuckle)

P. L. G.: a`kàyte·k`gáy píl`pa·n`té·te·ki.... but`  
not-either`I`also`will`understand....

Male voice: só·tè`so·tè`pírap`sákaw its-kind`not`  
steals`kava (chuckle) sò·tè`puŋ`míya not`right`there-is (?)

Jacobus: í·tè`it`only`píripírap`sákaw wùŋwùŋ`sákaw  
à·píl`mí·mí`lólé`be-stealing`kava`be-wringing`kava`but`  
also`is`inside (chuckle) y`ap`lùsiki·té·tè`èy`yoptási....  
I`but`jumped`only`at`my`summons....

P. L. G.: míya`sáwlik`mètù`is`Sawlik`here

Jacobus: só·tè`nott

P. L. G. ey, yes míya`réwmwayl`sáwlik`is-there`with-you`  
Sawlik

Jacobus: só·tè`not

P. L. G.: sò·tè<sup>é</sup>· not<sup>eh</sup>? ari<sup>mú</sup>mwaw then<sup>is</sup> good  
(chuckles)

Jacobus: kàyte·n<sup>só</sup>wlik not-either<sup>Sowlik</sup> ná·napas  
Nahnapas

P. L. G.: nà·napas<sup>miye</sup> Nahnapas there-is?

Jacobus: só·tè not

Male voice: nà·napas<sup>éy</sup> Nahnapas yes?

P. L. G.: só· no a<sup>sá</sup>wlik<sup>tè</sup> pí<sup>l</sup>mé<sup>ko</sup>t but<sup>Sawlik</sup>  
or also<sup>one</sup> thing (chuckle)

Male voice: a<sup>ah</sup> (chuckle)

Male voice: sò·tè<sup>ar</sup> (indistinct) keyr<sup>mén</sup>et not-is<sup>their</sup>  
(untranslated) (untranslated) this sò·tè<sup>kí</sup>lan  
sákaw a<sup>wó</sup>..... not<sup>saw</sup> kava (nonsense syllables in kava  
song).....

Jacobus: ..... pwe<sup>u</sup>·tí·yon pwò·t<sup>rí</sup>yaw me<sup>miye</sup> me<sup>miye</sup>  
nán<sup>ape</sup>.... because<sup>stand-downward-to</sup> cans<sup>two</sup> that<sup>there</sup>  
there-are that<sup>there-are</sup> in<sup>that-thing</sup>.... (chuckle)

Female voice: ì<sup>me</sup>·ná·nmataw itì·t<sup>iyakiyé</sup> it<sup>what</sup>  
Nahnmataw peers-at-me(?)

Jacobus: mwéyn èn<sup>wiyá</sup>·ta me<sup>káli</sup>tep perhaps should<sup>do</sup>  
what<sup>makes-drunk</sup>

P. L. G.: áyya yike

Female voice: a'et'en'kóson píl'en'mi pà·n'namwaná·ki....  
but name of play also should be will (untranslated)....

Male voice: á· ah mò'ε·'rógorórki there he is-hearing-  
with

Jacobus: ε'rógorórki àtayl'kóson he hears-with our  
play

Male voice: í·yo..... (untranslated) (chuckle, mumble,  
chuckle)

Jacobus: è'píl'té·te·ki.... he also understands....

Male voice: i'rógororáta pása·'n'sákaw'εte I have-  
been-hearing (untranslated) of kava only.... (chuckle,  
mumble, cough)

Male voice: misì·n'me'ké·layl machine is strong

Jacobus: é·y yes

Male voice: mwawón'me'rón pwε'kepwe'sò·η'mεtáytey  
better-than what hears because thing kind absorbent  
(cough, cough)

Female voice: ke'pópwetiki you infatuated

Male voice: ke'sò·te'síka you not cigarette

P..L..G.: o· oh

Female voice: só·te.... not....

P..L..G.: yo there

Male voice: kaṭˈɪnˈsapáli deɪgnˈofˈreturn

Female voice: póltaːn koːkòːlaˈyá Poltahn wentˈwhere

P. L. G.: oː oh

Jacobus: pəliláːsaŋ ŋkápwan is-over-there-from shortly  
(chuckle, chuckle)....

P. L. G.: èkisˈwúkisaŋ niˈári a-bitˈdifferent-from  
onˈTuesday....

Female voice: aː ah ....

Female voice: taːˈméˈpil èkisˈwúkisaŋ.... whatˈisˈ  
also a-bitˈdifferent....

Female voice: éˈróŋoròŋ heˈis-hearing

P. L. G.: éy yes óːlo roŋoróŋki... that-man is-list-  
ening-by.... (chuckle)

Male voice: mùrˈenˈróŋ laterˈshallˈhear

Jacobus: sáyk not-yet meṭˈkáyew sòːŋˈmwáw hereˈfirst  
kindˈgood

Male voice: (hm)

Female voice: pwéːˈta because-ofˈwhat komˈkàkˈ  
kóroŋeˈn mènˈápe you(hon.)ˈcanˈlistenˈof thereˈand-the-like....

Male voice: óːnpown Ohnpown

Jacobus: mwèŋiniŋinˈápe ìˈpilˈróŋ chatterˈand-the-like  
Iˈalsoˈheard

Male voice: ni<sup>ˈ</sup>pwé·kata.... in<sup>ˈ</sup>(untranslated)....

P. L. G.: m· hm kòm<sup>ˈ</sup>saykínṭe e· kòm<sup>ˈ</sup>saykínṭe  
 sòṇatá<sup>ˈ</sup>ma·s you<sup>ˈ</sup>not-yet (er) you(hon.)<sup>ˈ</sup>not-yet tried<sup>ˈ</sup>  
 before

Jacobus: é·y á·p<sup>ˈ</sup>ṭe yes but<sup>ˈ</sup>only

P. L. G.: méṭ<sup>ˈ</sup>ṭe here<sup>ˈ</sup>only (mumble, laughter)

Male voice: lokàya<sup>ˈ</sup>ṭíkiṭik me<sup>ˈ</sup>kò·la<sup>ˈ</sup>lólé speech<sup>ˈ</sup>  
 small which<sup>ˈ</sup>goes-there<sup>ˈ</sup>inside

Jacobus: mé·<sup>ˈ</sup>n<sup>ˈ</sup>ta is<sup>ˈ</sup>of<sup>ˈ</sup>what mè·<sup>ˈ</sup>n<sup>ˈ</sup>sátawan<sup>ˈ</sup>pil  
 morowròwsaṇ<sup>ˈ</sup>méṭ some<sup>ˈ</sup>of<sup>ˈ</sup>Satawan<sup>ˈ</sup>also fatter-than<sup>ˈ</sup>here  
 (chuckle, mumble, laughter) me<sup>ˈ</sup>rukukí·la.... péytako  
 who<sup>ˈ</sup>hide.... up-there (laughter) .....

Male voice: lì·y<sup>ˈ</sup>en<sup>ˈ</sup>yá·<sup>ˈ</sup>men<sup>ˈ</sup>mò lì·y<sup>ˈ</sup>en<sup>ˈ</sup>yá· woman<sup>ˈ</sup>  
 of<sup>ˈ</sup>where<sup>ˈ</sup>one<sup>ˈ</sup>there woman<sup>ˈ</sup>of<sup>ˈ</sup>where

Male voice: so· no

Male voice: kis<sup>ˈ</sup>in<sup>ˈ</sup>lì·<sup>ˈ</sup>kasélelé bit<sup>ˈ</sup>of<sup>ˈ</sup>woman<sup>ˈ</sup>nice

Male voice: ey yes

Jacobus: èkis<sup>ˈ</sup>eté<sup>ˈ</sup>mmi palíla·<sup>ˈ</sup>n ánt<sup>ˈ</sup>ape a-bit<sup>ˈ</sup>only<sup>ˈ</sup>  
 lives over-there<sup>ˈ</sup>of Ant<sup>ˈ</sup>or-the-like (laughter)

P. L. G.: a· ah en<sup>ˈ</sup>yakò·pus<sup>ˈ</sup>e·<sup>ˈ</sup>kérirr of<sup>ˈ</sup>Jacobus<sup>ˈ</sup>  
 his<sup>ˈ</sup>secret-love

Jacobus: pil<sup>ˈ</sup>só· also no kàyte·<sup>ˈ</sup>n<sup>ˈ</sup>ṇáy<sup>ˈ</sup>mèyṇ not-either<sup>ˈ</sup>



I si ó le t this man

P. L. G.: á ó le t ah this man

Jacobus: éy (chuckle) yes

P. L. G.: áyayyáyay well well well a o è m n  
li tó ror tà m e p a n l é m e l e m e but and one woman other  
what is will be thinking (chuckles) ....

Male voice: áyya well kà ŋ k a p i re ŋ ò p w ò t kó w l en  
putò w en p w ó t a k a n p a k é r e k e r r n à l l è p i n p i l e can perform  
some songs of rivulet of cans suddenly is sprinkling in  
this puddle (chuckle, mumble, chuckle) ....

Male voice: sò ŋ en pó n p e y manner of Ponape

Male voice: e p i l k a m é t e k à it also hurts

Male voice: k a l s i k à t a éy lól burn my inside

Male voice: e p i l p a n n i m p w ó t a k a .... he also  
will drink the cans .... (mumble, chuckle) ....

Male voice: iráyl .... they ....

Male voice: m a e n à k i n e k p w ó t a k a à kò soy el l í •  
à m p a n p w éy t a if he is distributing the cans but  
story of women but will succeed (chuckle)

Jacobus: akèy p i l m é l é è well also true eh?

Male voice (hm)

Male voice: (hm, laughter)

P. L. G.: kòsoy'en'lí·'è· story of woman eh?

Jacobus: ey yes

Male voice: ey yes

Male voice: ó·npown mwáwki kòsoy'en'lí· Ohnpown  
likes story of women

Female voice: í·'me'kiṭàyl'wíyawíya..... it what  
we(pl.incl.) are-doing.....

Female voice: í·'me'ó·npown'wíya nín'ta.. nín'tapí·yo é·  
it which Ohnpown did in the-be.. the beginning eh?

P. L. G.: ó·npown ó·npown Ohnpown? Ohnpown?

Female voice: í·'mètṭ he here

P. L. G.: arí'lí·yo'pwè'n.... well that-woman because  
should.....

Jacobus: ey yes

P. L. G.: kò·f·la go-out-there (chuckles) ó· à'múr  
ò·l an'pwé'n wíya (chuckle) kòsoy'en'ó·l and but later  
that-man because should do story of man

Female voice: kò·ko·lá·ṭs kí·ṭ'pépey are-going-only  
we(excl.) are-fighting

P. L. G.: í·s'pépey who is-fighting

Female voice: kí·ṭ'pwí·'n'lí·ko we(excl.) group of  
women

P. L. G.: a' ah  
~~~~~

Female voice: o' kɪ·t̃'a·p'iyáta kɪs'in piláyk'  
~~~~~  
ari'pèy and we(excl.) but noist bit of flag then fight  
(chuckle)

P. L. G.: ma'sò·t̃e'ó·l' (indistinct) sò·t̃e'katépe  
(chuckle) if not man (untranslated) not use à·ma'ó·l' t̃e  
émen a'li·t̃ó·t̃o ari'pépey but if man only one but women  
many then be-fighting (chuckle)....

Male voice: ma'ó·n yàgàt̃e'pwáreto if Ohn was-along-  
~~~~~  
only appeared-here (mumble)

Jacobus: ò·lo'me'pil'kapérren that-man is also gay  
~~~~~

Male voice: ey yes (mumble)  
~~~~~

Female voice: nè·y' sówmwaw my-foot sick  
~~~~~

Male voice: akká what!  
~~~~~

Male voice: a'li·me'tá but it is what  
~~~~~

Jacobus: a'tà·me'míya and what is is-there  
~~~~~

Female voice: kamétek hurts  
~~~~~

Male voice: ò·le'pil'pa·n samwóto this-man also  
~~~~~  
will come-in

Jacobus: éy yes námenek is-ashamed  
~~~~~

Female voice: mè'n'ta'pwè'pa·n míya'n ò·le'mé'pa·n  
~~~~~  
námenek is of what because will there-be of this-man who

will-be-ashamed (chuckle, laughter, cough)

Female voice: li·y·b·n·pa·n·rógata woman Ohn·  
will hear

Male voice: lokàya·tíkiṭik·a· rē·pil·róṅ speech  
small but they also hear

Jacobus: róng·mè·kòros hear is all

Male voice: m· (hm)

Jacobus: wása·n kúmukumwo pil·yàṅ·mi·lólé place of  
that-knock also is-with is inside

Male voice: a· ah

Female voice: a· ah (mumble, mumble)

Jacobus: wàtekála è·pil·yàṅ·mi·lólé read-there it  
also is-with is inside

P. L. G.: (hm, chuckle)

Free Translation

Woman's voice: This is better than what I have in my ear.

J: I don't quite like woman's company. (Note: The men were trying to tell dirty stories. )

Man's voice: That's right.

J: .....we won't tell just one kind of story...

Man's voice: We will tell another sort of story.

J: That's just it; we should really tell some gay stories.

Man's voice: Yes, gay stories should be.....

Woman's voice: But, we came to hear it. (Note: the wire recorder.)

J: Yes, that's it. ....

Woman's voice: Someone is just cracking a joke. (chuckle)

PLG: You just have yourself a chat, huh?....It doesn't make any difference.  
(Note: - what the conversation is about)

Man's voice: Now, I am sorry. (Note:-that they can't tell any dirty stories)

J: It can't be done any more because here now he is catching our speech...  
(chuckle)

Man's voice: Hm, hm.

J: Here's what. If we only were alone, just in men's company.

Man's voice: Eh, yes!

J: So that we could tell stories of women and here the women's company is spoiling it for us. I shall still do something that will make you laugh.

Man's voice: Yes, yes.

Woman's voice: ...Ohnpown, (Title of J.) you should tell a Ponape story and not this.

PLG: Oh, hello (enter a man)...[mumble, chuckle]...Well, well look at that.  
Hello, Kusaian...

Male voice: The clothes...(the man wore a suit of camouflage pattern poncho material.)



PLG: Look, Ponape cloth.

Woman's voice: You got nice clothes on.

J: No rain can get in there.

PLG: Eh, no it can't get in (...cough, cough...mumble) If the rain is too big, then it can get in and if not, then it's O K, eh?

J: Not if the rain is heavy.

PLG: Yes, if the rain is heavy, if it is too heavy.

J: Yes, yes. It will go through ....(chuckle, chuckle), will go through.

PLG: Yes, it will go through...well...

J: Yes.

Woman's voice: Oh, Kire (woman's name) your piece of bread will be in the machine (Note: her eating noises will be recorded) ....(chuckle)...

PLG: Well, what are you going to do now...(chuckle)

J: The woman's company has been afraid of our talk..(chuckle)

Man's voice: What if it is common chatter? (Note: that of untitled people) It will go inside anyway...(chuckle)

J;.....tell us a Kusaie story or how you killed the cow. (Note: Kusaian had killed a cow for a Catholic feast. Story mentioned a day before this conversation).....(chuckle)..(Chuckle). Tell us how you killed the cow.

Man's voice: (cooly) I don't want to. I won't tell you.

PLG: Well, well, it seems this woman has a secret love affair with that man.

J: She's afraid to speak.

PLG: Hm?

J: She's a little afraid to talk.

PLG: A little afraid to speak?

J: That woman

PLG: That woman.

J: Oh, yes.

PLG: Yes, they do not want...and they are not afraid to laugh...

J: Yes...(chuckle) Yes...(laughter)

Man's voice: Don't you fidget like that...(chuckle)...

Woman's voice: What shall I chatter about and what's the machine doing down on the floor? (Note:- The microphone was placed on the floor)

Man's voice: It doesn't make any difference. It is what he announces.  
(Note:- Referring to occasional comments in English by PLG)

Woman's voice: And the low voices are also inside here.

J: Here inside.

PLG: What is there inside here?

J: Our speech goes inside.

PLG: Yes, yes, yes. All goes inside...Oh, well, now you will be ashamed.

J: There's no use to be ashamed because he will take it to America and they won't see my face.

PLG: Yes.

Man's voice: The Americans won't understand it.

PLG: And I won't understand it either...

Man's voice: Doesn't this thing steal kava. (Note:- steal kava means to prepare kava; all kava belongs to the Sowpeyti and commoners' touching it before distribution would be called stealing; the reference is to a wire recording of a native kava feast.) Isn't that what it is?

J: Exactly. Stealing kava, wringing out kava is also inside. (chuckle)  
Was I surprised at my summons!

PLG: .....is the Sowlik (section title) there?

J: No.

PLG: Is the Sowlik among you?

J: No.

PLG: No, huh? Then it's alright.

J: Not the Sowlik, the Nahnapas (district title).

PLG: Is the Nahnapas here?

J: No.

Man's voice: Oh, the Nahnapas.

PLG: No, but Sowlik or somebody else (chuckle).

Man's voice: Oh. (chuckle).....

Man's voice: .....I can't see the kava....

J: .....because down there there are two cans (of beer) that are in that thing (a canvas bucket).....

Woman's voice: That's what the Nahmataw (district title) is peering at.

J: Maybe he should do something that will get us drunk.

PLG: Yike!

Woman's voice: And the name of our (guitar) play shall also be.....

Man's voice: Ah, that he has listened to.

J: He has listened to our play.

Man's voice: Oh....(chuckle - mumble - chuckle - mumble - cough)

Man's voice: The machine is strong.

J: Yes.

Man's voice: It hears better because the thing is of the absorbent kind.  
(cough, cough)

Woman's voice: Did you become infatuated?

Man's voice: You don't happen to have a cigarette?

PLG: Oh.

Woman's voice: I don't....

PLG: There.....

Man's voice: Will you come back sir?

Woman's voice: Where did Poltahn (name) go?

PLG: Oh.

J: He will be right back. (chuckle - chuckle) (Note:-the man went to the toilet)

PLG: It's a little different from Tuesday.....

Woman's voice: Ah!

Woman's voice: What is a little different?

Woman's voice: Is he hearing it?

PLG: Yes. That man is also listening. (Note:-Ponapean informants talking to each other would refer to PLG as "That man")...(chuckle)

Man's voice: Shall we hear something soon?

J: Not yet. This is first rate stuff.

Man's voice: Hmm.

Woman's voice: Why? Can't you listen to this thing here? .....

Man's voice: Ohnpown (Jacobus' title).....

J: I also hear chatter and stuff from it .....

PLG: Didn't you..er..try it yet?

J: Yes, just recently.

PLG: Right here.

Man's voice: (mumble - laughter) Low speech also gets inside.

J: So the Satawan people are still fatter than the ones here. (Note: refers to the man's girl-friend from Satawan) (chuckles - mumbles - laughter) He's hiding her up there....(laughter).....

Man's voice: Wherefrom is that woman? Wherefrom?

Man's voice: No.

Man's voice: Not a bad little woman, eh?

Man's voice: Yes.

J: She lives just about a little bit beyond Ant or some place like that.  
(laughter)

PLG: Oh, Jacobus' secret love.

J: Not that either; not I, sir; that man here.

PLG: Oh, that man here.

J: Yes. (chuckles)

PLG: Well, well, well. And "one other woman" (PLG's nickname for the above man's wife) What will she think? ....(chuckle)....

Man's voice: Look, we can make up a song of the rivulet from the cans that is running into the puddle here. (chuckles - mumble - chuckle).....(Note:- The ice in the canvas bag is melting)

Man's voice: Ponape style.

Man's voice: It hurts, too.

Man's voice: It burns my insides.

Man's voice: He'll drink up the cans, too. ....(mumble - chuckle)

Man's voice: They.....

Man's voice: If he hands out the cans then the stories about women will really come out well. (chuckles)

J: Ain't it the truth!

Man's voice: Hm.

Man's voice: Hm.....(laughter)

PLG: Stories of women, huh?

J: Yes.

Man's voice: Yes.

Man's voice: The Ohnpown likes stories about women.

Woman's voice: That's what we were doing....

Woman's voice: That's what the Ohnpown did in the be.....beginning, huh?

PLG: Ohnpown, Ohnpown.

Woman's voice: That's the one.

PLG: Will the women.....

J: Yes.

PLG: Go out....(chuckles) and then "this man" should tell a man's story.



Woman's voice: Just let 'em go. We will fight.

PLG: Who will fight?

Woman's voice: We, the women's bunch.

PLG: Oh!

Woman's voice: Yes, we will hoist up a little flag and then fight..(chuckle)

PLG: But if there are no men around there's no use to it...(chuckles) but, if there's only one man and a lot of women, then you can fight.....  
(chuckles)

Man's voice: If only the Ohn (title) had come along with us.

J: Yes, that's a jolly fellow.

Man's voice: Yes. (mumbles, chuckle)

Woman's voice: My foot hurts me.

Man's voice: No kidding.

Man's voice: What's the matter?

J: What is it?

Woman's voice: It hurts.

Man's voice: This man wants to come in.

J: Yes. He is ashamed to.

Woman's voice: So what? What's the good of the man if he is ashamed?  
.....(chuckle - laughter - cough)

Woman's voice: The Ohn's wife will hear it.

Man's voice: Will they also hear low talk?

J: They will hear everything.

Man's voice: Hm.

J: The place where the knocking is is also in it. (Note:- The microphone was moved and the stand knocked against the floor.)

Man's voice: Ah!

Woman's voice: Ah! (mumble - mumble)

J: The reading is also in it.

PLG: Hm....(chuckle)

### Conversation III

Participants: Pehtren of Kiti, a native preacher;  
Andreas Weilbacher of Net, R. I. Murrill's interpreter;  
Dan of Pingelap village, Sokehs, a native policeman;  
Nallaym of Net, second-highest title in Nahnken line.

Date: 27 November 1947

At this investigator's request, Pehtren and Andreas agreed to stage a conversation for recording purposes. S. H. Riesenbergs suggested that they discuss native feasts, which were very much the topic of the day on Ponape at the time. Dan and Nallaym happened to visit while the conversation was in progress, and a forum discussion of problems connected with feasting developed. All informants were careful to speak as close to the recording microphone as possible; otherwise, the conversation was, of course, unrehearsed, and became more and more spontaneous as it went on. It was recorded on two spools.

P. L. G.: nà<sup>^</sup>komwá go-ahead<sup>^</sup>you(d.)  
~~~~~

A.: ya<sup>^</sup>túwe<sup>^</sup>n ír<sup>^</sup>en wèy<sup>^</sup>n<sup>^</sup>kí<sup>^</sup>ti ní<sup>^</sup>kamátip mwéy<sup>^</sup>et  
where<sup>^</sup>thus<sup>^</sup>of well-being<sup>^</sup>of district<sup>^</sup>of<sup>^</sup>Kiti in<sup>^</sup>feasts  
this-time

P.: kòm<sup>^</sup>men<sup>^</sup>mwá<sup>^</sup>gi túwe<sup>^</sup>n e kàmatipw<sup>^</sup>en wèy<sup>^</sup>n<sup>^</sup>  
kí<sup>^</sup>ti a<sup>^</sup>nsówet<sup>^</sup> you(hon.)<sup>^</sup>want-to<sup>^</sup>know(hon.)<sup>^</sup>thus<sup>^</sup>of

(er) feasts of district of Kiti this-time

A.: e·y yes

P.: kàmatipw'en wèy'n'kíti a·nsówet e· ìnen'en'mwáw  
feasts of district of Kiti this-time (er) straight of  
good

A.: é·y yes ?

P.: éy yes kom'mwà·ŋi'túwe è·'más e túwe'ta ma'  
 kàmatip'kin'wiyáwi ari'áramas'me'kin e· túwe'ta wiyà·ta'  
 kàmatipwo you(hon.) know(hon.) (er) formerly thus only  
if feasts usually were-made then people who usually  
(er) thus only made that-feast....

A.: ey yes

P.: só·ta'kin túwe'ta púro·ŋ mäs'en'pòk'iyew'té  
 tà·'koť'é· not usually thus only return face of yam-álice  
one or what thing eh?

A.: ey yes

P.: mó'i· tùwe'n'má·so there it thus of that-former

A.: ey yes

P.: à·'mmétŋ likámw'aŋa· e'mwáwla but now lie only  
it improved pwe'sòwpeytí·ko túwe'ta'nà·npey'ape'iràyl'  
 pil'só·ta túwe'ta e· pàta·kí·yòŋ'áramas en'kàmatipwáir  
 tùwe'ta'tiya·k'en'má·so because Sowpeytis thus only  
Nahnpey'etcetera they also not thus only (er) tell-to

people should give-a-feast-for-them thus only custom  
of that-former

A.: ey yes

P.: á· àramasakan·mwáw·kàmatipwè nà·npey·pwé·ki  
yèt·sò·net·mè·re·mwáwki but people like to-give-feasts-to  
Nahnpey because here! this-manner which they like e· má  
kóm·pa·n kàmatipwa·ná·npey a·kóm·pa·n kàtìla·lú·k a·kòmwi·puréto  
(er) if you(hon.) will give-a-feast-to Nahnpey but you  
(hon.) will go-there(hon.) invite but you(hon.) return  
kòmwi·kaónopata óm.. ómwi·kamátip you(hon.) cause-to-  
prepare you.. your(hon.) feast a·ná·npey·á·m·pa·n kupuré·ta  
í·s·mé·á·pa·n·káwlo·ŋ ò·mwi·úmwekí·yo but Nahnpey however  
will think-over who is he will give your(hon.) that-stone-  
oven-feast

A.: ey yes

P.: é·y yes í·tuwe it thus ari·ná·npey·pà·n kaṭitò·  
nin(?)·kàmatipwo á·p túwe·ṭa káwloŋ íye óm kàmatipwo well  
Nahnpey will come(hon.) in(?) that-feast but thus only  
give-to me your(sg.) that-feast ari kà·piko·korú·siya  
then yams allest

A.: kòm·pa·n·sapwillim·a·nikí·la you(hon.) will  
(honorific morpheme) receive

P.: é·y í·pá·n nàyniki·ká·pko yes I shall receive  
the-yams à·má·y·pa·n túwe·ṭa pwekatá·saŋ e·sílú·m·àpé·te  
límu·m kónoṭo but breadfruits will thus only hang-up-from

(er) three-and-the-like-or-five-that-konot a·ù·ta·n·  
 e·pil·pa·n·kapuretó·saŋ ríyaw·tè sílu but-certainly-he  
also-will-give-back-here-from two-or three

A.: sà·m·me·konoté·la father-who-eats-konot

P.: e· yes á·pa·n kònot·en·kíŋa ríyaw te·sílu he-will  
konot-of-us(d.) two-or-three..... ari·í·me i·me·áramasaka  
 likamw·áŋa·a·nsówet·re mwáwki pwè·ki·likámw·áŋa só·ŋa  
 lù·s·en·kámátip well-it-is-it-is-people-lie-only-this-time  
they-like-because-lie-only no-loss-of-feasting i·tuwe·n  
 kámátipw·en wèy·n·kíŋi a·nsówet it-thus-of-feast-of-district  
of-Kiti this-time

A.: wey·n·néŋ district-of-Net i·sò·ŋe·paŋó·wan wey·n·néŋ  
 pwe·y·sò·ŋe·pili·kin·yáŋ kámátip I-not-understand(hum.) di-  
strict-of-Net because-I-not-also-usually-am-with feasts

P.: e· eh

A.: i·tuwe·n·me·í·kin paŋó·wan roŋasáŋ·men áramasakan·  
 méŋ it-thus-of-what-I-usually-know(hum.) heard-from-that  
people-here irayl·pil·solá·r mwò·ki·perréniki pwé·ki a·sò·ŋe·  
 túwe·ŋe kámátipw·en·má·so·mètŋ they-also-stopped-like-rejoice-  
over-because-it-not-thus-only-feast-of-that-former-here  
 peyn·ínsen·en·áramaso en... self-liking-of-that-person  
so-that....

P.: é· oh

A.: wén·me·èmen wéyrata stalk-that-one-has-dug-up

P.: (hm)



A.: tene· they-say pàto·wégete wèn·mwarr·wó orders-only  
stalk·title·that i·wen·ké·p mē·e·pa·n·wéyrata it·stalk·yam  
which·he·will·dig-up

P.: tò·tò·n·ká·p much·of·yams

A.: tò·tò much tò·tò·n·sákaw o·tà·tò·n·pwí·k much·  
of·kava and·much·of·pigs

P.: (hm)

A.: ò·pil·é·u and·also·one kàmatipw·en·ni·mwéy·n  
 nà·nmwarrki·éykaw àramas·kóros pil·kák tíyar ar·túnol kīs·  
in·ké·p feast·of·in·time·of·other·Nahnmwarrkis people·all  
also·can·find·their·(humiliative morpheme) bit·of·yam

P.: e· eh

A.: á· mét but now tene·ké·p·korú·siye·pa·n lánata  
 á·m·pa·n nè·ne·mú·r they-say·yams·allest·will·be-hung-up  
but·will·be-distributed·later

P.: e· yes sàmpesániyer have-scattered

A.: sàmpesániyer have-dispersed

P.: (hm)

A.: a·ká·re·ta me·tò·tò·lokolokáya pwé·ki írayl  
 wéyrata·ké·p á· sò·tə·me·íráyl púre·ŋ but·therefore·are·  
many·are-talking because they dug-up·yams but not·is·  
they return

P.: arí·mwáyn mwayn·sò·tə·né·nepèsaŋ pwe·áramas

pa<sup>ˈ</sup>insensúwetiki well-maybe-maybe-not-were-distributed  
because-people-suddenly-were-dissatisfied

A.: oyé·y oh-yes(?) te<sup>ˈ</sup>mà<sup>ˈ</sup>a<sup>ˈ</sup>pil<sup>ˈ</sup>né·nepèseŋ à<sup>ˈ</sup>·nan<sup>ˈ</sup>  
 pùŋ<sup>ˈ</sup>an<sup>ˈ</sup>iráy<sup>ˈ</sup>l<sup>ˈ</sup>te or-if-it-is-distributed-but-in-the-ranks<sup>ˈ</sup>  
 of-themselves-only

P.: é·y yes nan<sup>ˈ</sup>pùŋ<sup>ˈ</sup>an<sup>ˈ</sup>iráy<sup>ˈ</sup>l<sup>ˈ</sup>te me<sup>ˈ</sup>iray<sup>ˈ</sup>l<sup>ˈ</sup>mwàwki<sup>ˈ</sup>  
 kaŋikíyŋ in-the-ranks-of-them-or-what-they-want-to<sup>ˈ</sup>  
 graciously-give-to

A.: é·y yes

P.: arí i<sup>ˈ</sup>·só·ŋ<sup>ˈ</sup>mèŋ kàynsensuwet<sup>ˈ</sup>én<sup>ˈ</sup>men well-it  
kind-here dissatisfying-of-that

A.: é·y yes

P.: i<sup>ˈ</sup>·só·ŋ<sup>ˈ</sup>mèŋ túwè<sup>ˈ</sup>ta pil<sup>ˈ</sup>lú·s<sup>ˈ</sup>kalàymun mi<sup>ˈ</sup>lólé<sup>ˈ</sup>è·  
it-kind-here thus-only also-loss-great is-inside-eh?

A.: éy yes mwéy pil<sup>ˈ</sup>é·ŋ<sup>ˈ</sup>kin<sup>ˈ</sup>é·y<sup>ˈ</sup>an<sup>ˈ</sup>mwáw<sup>ˈ</sup>kàmatip<sup>ˈ</sup>má·so  
 ni<sup>ˈ</sup>mwèy<sup>ˈ</sup>n<sup>ˈ</sup>na·nkin<sup>ˈ</sup>téykaw time(?) also-it-usually-is-with  
good-feast-that-fomer-time in-time-of-other-Nahnkens

P.: e· eh?

A.: nà·nmwarrkitéykaw other-Nahnmwarrki<sup>ˈ</sup>s pwe<sup>ˈ</sup>l<sup>ˈ</sup>·  
 so·ŋ<sup>ˈ</sup>e<sup>ˈ</sup>kin<sup>ˈ</sup>wiyáwi because-it-kind-it-usually-is-done  
 tùwè<sup>ˈ</sup>te<sup>ˈ</sup>má kònot<sup>ˈ</sup>in<sup>ˈ</sup>nà·nmwarrki<sup>ˈ</sup>pà<sup>ˈ</sup>n pwekipwekita  
 kè·p<sup>ˈ</sup>ú·mateúríyowm thus-only-if konot-of-Nahnmwarrki-will  
be-hanging-up yam-one-or-two me<sup>ˈ</sup>kàyow<sup>ˈ</sup>kaláymun which  
first-big

P.: a. ah

A.: pil<sup>ˈ</sup>túwe<sup>ˈ</sup>ʔe<sup>ˈ</sup>ná<sup>ˈ</sup>nekin á<sup>ˈ</sup> mwàrr<sup>ˈ</sup>ʔik<sup>ˈ</sup>ʔif<sup>ˈ</sup>ko pá<sup>ˈ</sup>n<sup>ˈ</sup>kin  
wà<sup>ˈ</sup>to<sup>ˈ</sup>ú<sup>ˈ</sup>m also<sup>ˈ</sup>thus<sup>ˈ</sup>only<sup>ˈ</sup>Nahnkin but small-titles will<sup>ˈ</sup>  
usually bring<sup>ˈ</sup>one á<sup>ˈ</sup> lùweko<sup>ˈ</sup>korú<sup>ˈ</sup>siye nè<sup>ˈ</sup>né<sup>ˈ</sup>ŋ<sup>ˈ</sup>ar but  
the-rests<sup>ˈ</sup>allest are-distributed-to<sup>ˈ</sup>their

P.: àramasákan people

A.: éy yes o<sup>ˈ</sup>ákey<sup>ˈ</sup>me<sup>ˈ</sup>kin ʔiya<sup>ˈ</sup>k<sup>ˈ</sup>súwet e<sup>ˈ</sup>pil<sup>ˈ</sup>kin<sup>ˈ</sup>kak  
símwey and<sup>ˈ</sup>some<sup>ˈ</sup>who<sup>ˈ</sup>usually habit<sup>ˈ</sup>bad he<sup>ˈ</sup>also<sup>ˈ</sup>usually<sup>ˈ</sup>can  
grab

P.: símwey<sup>ˈ</sup>è<sup>ˈ</sup> grab<sup>ˈ</sup>eh? (chuckle)

A.: arí well sò<sup>ˈ</sup>ŋe<sup>ˈ</sup>mó mé<sup>ˈ</sup> sòwpeytí<sup>ˈ</sup>ka pil<sup>ˈ</sup>sò<sup>ˈ</sup>ʔe<sup>ˈ</sup>  
káʔapan this-way<sup>ˈ</sup>there that the-Sowpeytis also<sup>ˈ</sup>not<sup>ˈ</sup>useful  
a<sup>ˈ</sup>mwéyet<sup>ˈ</sup> sò<sup>ˈ</sup>ʔe<sup>ˈ</sup>me<sup>ˈ</sup>kák kì<sup>ˈ</sup>saŋ<sup>ˈ</sup>kis<sup>ˈ</sup>in<sup>ˈ</sup>mé... but<sup>ˈ</sup>this-time  
not<sup>ˈ</sup>what<sup>ˈ</sup>can take<sup>ˈ</sup>bit<sup>ˈ</sup>of<sup>ˈ</sup>pie...

P.: a. ah

A.: mesènti<sup>ˈ</sup>n<sup>ˈ</sup>ké<sup>ˈ</sup>p<sup>ˈ</sup>kis piece<sup>ˈ</sup>of<sup>ˈ</sup>yam<sup>ˈ</sup>one

P.: (hm) kìʔi<sup>ˈ</sup>só<sup>ˈ</sup> Kiti<sup>ˈ</sup>not

P.: ná<sup>ˈ</sup>mè<sup>ˈ</sup>emen lèmeta<sup>ˈ</sup>r<sup>ˈ</sup>símwey his(?)<sup>ˈ</sup>is<sup>ˈ</sup>one thinks<sup>ˈ</sup>  
grab á<sup>ˈ</sup>p áramas<sup>ˈ</sup>mè túwe<sup>ˈ</sup>ʔa pá<sup>ˈ</sup>n<sup>ˈ</sup>ne<sup>ˈ</sup>ŋ<sup>ˈ</sup>ká<sup>ˈ</sup>piko ré<sup>ˈ</sup>pa<sup>ˈ</sup>n ké<sup>ˈ</sup>  
but person<sup>ˈ</sup>who thus<sup>ˈ</sup>only will<sup>ˈ</sup>distribute<sup>ˈ</sup>the-yams they<sup>ˈ</sup>  
will shout komwáyl<sup>ˈ</sup>te<sup>ˈ</sup>r komwáyl<sup>ˈ</sup>te<sup>ˈ</sup>r you(pl.)<sup>ˈ</sup>don't  
you(pl.)<sup>ˈ</sup>don't

A.: éy yes ì<sup>ˈ</sup>pa<sup>ˈ</sup>n<sup>ˈ</sup>túwe<sup>ˈ</sup>ʔe... it<sup>ˈ</sup>will<sup>ˈ</sup>thus<sup>ˈ</sup>only...

éy yes

P.: kaw<sup>e</sup>·la<sup>^</sup>·konót<sup>^</sup>kan destroy<sup>^</sup>the<sup>^</sup>-konots

A.: ey yes

P.: á·nsow áramasàkan nànti·yonáta à·<sup>^</sup>sowpeyti·ko  
 èllé ré<sup>^</sup>pil insénsu.. te<sup>^</sup>óniyon nà<sup>^</sup>·nà<sup>^</sup>·ny<sup>^</sup>·ápe(?) time  
the-people make-an-effort but<sup>^</sup>the-Sowpey<sup>^</sup>tis perhaps  
they<sup>^</sup>also dissa... or<sup>^</sup>angry because<sup>^</sup>of<sup>^</sup>this(?)

A.: ey yes

P.: sò·ta<sup>^</sup>·kák not<sup>^</sup>can (chuckle)

A.: à·pw<sup>^</sup>·f<sup>^</sup>·u·ta·n tuwe<sup>^</sup>·n<sup>^</sup>·t<sup>^</sup>iya·k<sup>^</sup>·in<sup>^</sup>·téke·(?) but<sup>^</sup>  
it<sup>^</sup>certainly thus<sup>^</sup>of<sup>^</sup>habit<sup>^</sup>of<sup>^</sup>island(?)

P.: éy yes (chuckle)

A.: à<sup>^</sup>·pil<sup>^</sup>·é·u and<sup>^</sup>also<sup>^</sup>one má·so that-former-time  
 mwey<sup>^</sup>·n<sup>^</sup>·nà·nmwarrki<sup>^</sup>téykaw nà·nkentéykaw likamw<sup>^</sup>·éte miye<sup>^</sup>  
 me<sup>^</sup>·kák pàtò·wàlla mó·ni pèkì·ki<sup>^</sup>·e·<sup>^</sup>tunol<sup>^</sup>·ké·p time<sup>^</sup>of  
other-Nahn<sup>^</sup>mwarrkis other-Nahn<sup>^</sup>kens lie<sup>^</sup>only there-is<sup>^</sup>who<sup>^</sup>  
can give(hum.) money ask-for<sup>^</sup>his<sup>^</sup>(humiliative morpheme)<sup>^</sup>  
 yams

P.: a· ah

A.: éy yes

P.: ré·<sup>^</sup>n ná·nmwarrki at<sup>^</sup>of<sup>^</sup>Nahn<sup>^</sup>mwarrki

A.: rè·<sup>^</sup>n<sup>^</sup>·ná·nmwarrki té<sup>^</sup>·re·<sup>^</sup>n ná·nken at<sup>^</sup>of<sup>^</sup>Nahn<sup>^</sup>mwarrki

or<sup>at</sup> Nahnken à·rí ná·nmwarrkiyo mwèyn<sup>elle</sup> pil<sup>só</sup>·tə  
 ε· kupúreki<sup>a</sup>·p ú·ta·n pà·n<sup>katikiyon</sup> pwé·ki well the-  
Nahnmwarrki maybe perhaps also not (er) feels-like but  
certainly will give-to(hon.) because

P.: ey yes

A.: en<sup>áramas</sup>·è· pékipek of<sup>person</sup> his wish

P.: éy éy yes yes

A.: à·mmét but now

P.: sò·la<sup>wiyáwi</sup> stopped<sup>be-done</sup>

A.: sò·la<sup>wiyáwi</sup> stopped<sup>be-done</sup> sò·tə<sup>me</sup>·kák  
 not<sup>that</sup> can

P.: (hm).... arí<sup>f</sup>·sɔŋ<sup>en</sup> wiyawiya<sup>mé</sup> pil sò·tə<sup>mwáw</sup>  
 well<sup>it</sup> kind<sup>of</sup> be-doing<sup>which</sup> also not<sup>good</sup>

A.: éy yes

P.: í· it í·<sup>wiyawiya</sup> me<sup>káre</sup>·ta tùwé<sup>ta</sup>·kámátíp  
 likamw<sup>àtə</sup>·áramas ákey<sup>áramas</sup> te<sup>ákey</sup>·wéy<sup>nta</sup>·mmè me<sup>súwet</sup>  
 it<sup>be-doing</sup> which<sup>causes</sup> thus<sup>only</sup> feasts lie<sup>only</sup>  
 people some<sup>people</sup> or<sup>some</sup> districts<sup>say</sup> is<sup>is</sup> bad

A.: me<sup>súwet</sup> is<sup>bad</sup>

P.: à·mé·lél nok<sup>sɔŋ</sup>·en<sup>kamatip</sup> wét<sup>me</sup> wiyáwi  
 me<sup>kin</sup>·wiyáwi<sup>mèt</sup> me<sup>tuwé</sup>·tə sò·tə but<sup>truth</sup> can<sup>kind</sup>  
 of<sup>feast</sup> this<sup>which</sup> is-done<sup>which</sup> usually<sup>is-done</sup> here<sup>here</sup>  
 which thus<sup>only</sup> not



A.: sò·təˈweyˈnˈkíti notˈdistrictˈofˈKiti

P.: é· eh?

A.: míya there-is ariˈmúˈmwaw thenˈisˈgood

P.: àˈmeˈtúweˈta wèyrataˈkáˈp kəmēˈlaˈpwíˈk àˈsòˈta  
tuweˈtaˈalleˈtípukè butˈwhichˈthusˈonly dig-upˈyam killˈpigs  
butˈnot thusˈonlyˈreceive

A.: éy yes

P.: ìnenˈenˈsúwet straightˈofˈbad

A.: àˈrí iràylˈpíl pilˈlòkolokàyaˈtòˈto yáˈtuweˈn  
iràylˈpaˈn pwáyntaˈaˈtùgolˈkéˈpˈsaŋ weytéykan well theyˈ  
alsoˈalsoˈare-talkingˈmuch whereˈthusˈof theyˈwillˈbuy  
theirˈ(humiliative\_morpheme)ˈyamsˈfrom other-districts

P.: a· ah

A.: rˈáˈmˈpaˈn patùketiˈó· írˈpaˈnˈpíl kàmatipwekiyon  
nàˈnmwarrkiˈteˈnáˈnkenˈàˈp theyˈbutˈwill plantˈand theyˈ  
willˈalso give-a-feast-with-to NahnmwarrkiˈorˈNahnkenˈbut

P.: e· oh

A.: sòˈtəˈme notˈwhich

P.: sòˈta not

A.: éy sòˈtəˈme píl puretóŋiràyl yes notˈwhich also  
goes-back-to-them àˈpílˈtúweˈte nàˈnˈpaˈrˈtéyo butˈalsoˈ  
thusˈonly inˈthe-other-year

P.: éy yes

A.: nán<sup>ˈ</sup>pa<sup>ˈ</sup>r<sup>ˈ</sup>kó<sup>ˈ</sup>ros in<sup>ˈ</sup>years<sup>ˈ</sup>all

P.: éy yes

A.: à<sup>ˈ</sup>ri<sup>ˈ</sup>iräyl<sup>ˈ</sup>pil<sup>ˈ</sup>solá<sup>ˈ</sup>r<sup>ˈ</sup>no<sup>ˈ</sup>n inoŋí<sup>ˈ</sup>yoŋ well<sup>ˈ</sup>they<sup>ˈ</sup>  
also<sup>ˈ</sup>stopped<sup>ˈ</sup>too-much<sup>ˈ</sup>liking

P.: éy yes

A.: kàmatipw<sup>ˈ</sup>en<sup>ˈ</sup>nán<sup>ˈ</sup> táyto<sup>ˈ</sup>wo<sup>ˈ</sup>ŋ íra<sup>ˈ</sup> kí<sup>ˈ</sup>pene<sup>ˈ</sup> kè<sup>ˈ</sup>p<sup>ˈ</sup>  
korú<sup>ˈ</sup>siye<sup>ˈ</sup> feast<sup>ˈ</sup>of<sup>ˈ</sup>during<sup>ˈ</sup>World-War-II<sup>ˈ</sup> they(d.)<sup>ˈ</sup> put-together<sup>ˈ</sup>  
yams<sup>ˈ</sup>allest

P.: (hm)

A.: penèyneyo<sup>ˈ</sup>á<sup>ˈ</sup>p írayl<sup>ˈ</sup> mà<sup>ˈ</sup>sa<sup>ˈ</sup>ní<sup>ˈ</sup>me<sup>ˈ</sup> ké<sup>ˈ</sup>pakaŋ<sup>ˈ</sup> sò<sup>ˈ</sup>ŋe<sup>ˈ</sup>  
pa<sup>ˈ</sup>n<sup>ˈ</sup>né<sup>ˈ</sup>ne<sup>ˈ</sup> pwé<sup>ˈ</sup> se<sup>ˈ</sup>pè<sup>ˈ</sup>n<sup>ˈ</sup>wiyá<sup>ˈ</sup>ta<sup>ˈ</sup> kàmatipw<sup>ˈ</sup>iyèw<sup>ˈ</sup>me<sup>ˈ</sup>pà<sup>ˈ</sup>n<sup>ˈ</sup>  
kàmatipw<sup>ˈ</sup>en<sup>ˈ</sup>wèy<sup>ˈ</sup>n<sup>ˈ</sup>néŋ<sup>ˈ</sup>pòn<sup>ˈ</sup> that-family<sup>ˈ</sup>but<sup>ˈ</sup> they<sup>ˈ</sup>said<sup>ˈ</sup>that  
the-yams<sup>ˈ</sup>not<sup>ˈ</sup>will<sup>ˈ</sup>be-distributed<sup>ˈ</sup> because<sup>ˈ</sup>we(excl.)<sup>ˈ</sup>will<sup>ˈ</sup>  
make<sup>ˈ</sup>feast<sup>ˈ</sup>one<sup>ˈ</sup>which<sup>ˈ</sup>will<sup>ˈ</sup>feast<sup>ˈ</sup>of<sup>ˈ</sup>district<sup>ˈ</sup>of<sup>ˈ</sup>Net<sup>ˈ</sup>round

P.: (hm)

A.: à<sup>ˈ</sup>ri<sup>ˈ</sup> irəŋka(?)<sup>ˈ</sup>kóros<sup>ˈ</sup>pil<sup>ˈ</sup> pèrrenkí<sup>ˈ</sup>ta<sup>ˈ</sup> well<sup>ˈ</sup>the-  
ranks(?)<sup>ˈ</sup>all<sup>ˈ</sup>also<sup>ˈ</sup>rejoiced-by<sup>ˈ</sup>ketèketó<sup>ˈ</sup>lèl<sup>ˈ</sup> rá<sup>ˈ</sup>n<sup>ˈ</sup>wəŋ<sup>ˈ</sup> só<sup>ˈ</sup>ŋe<sup>ˈ</sup>  
off-and-on<sup>ˈ</sup>reached<sup>ˈ</sup>day<sup>ˈ</sup>this<sup>ˈ</sup>not-is

P.: (laughter) kom<sup>ˈ</sup>mwá<sup>ˈ</sup>ŋì e<sup>ˈ</sup> nì<sup>ˈ</sup>ay<sup>ˈ</sup>puretí<sup>ˈ</sup>la<sup>ˈ</sup> nán<sup>ˈ</sup>  
wí<sup>ˈ</sup>kŋeyo<sup>ˈ</sup> you(hon.)<sup>ˈ</sup>know(hon.)<sup>ˈ</sup>(er)<sup>ˈ</sup>in<sup>ˈ</sup>my<sup>ˈ</sup>returning-down-  
there<sup>ˈ</sup>during<sup>ˈ</sup>the-other-week

R.: ey yes

P.: áy (ay) pwe<sup>ˈ</sup>té<sup>ˈ</sup>y<sup>ˈ</sup> kò<sup>ˈ</sup>la<sup>ˈ</sup>ni<sup>ˈ</sup>álim<sup>ˈ</sup> because<sup>ˈ</sup>or<sup>ˈ</sup>I

went-there<sup>on</sup> Friday yey lo! à<sup>·</sup>mánta rà<sup>·</sup>n<sup>·</sup>en<sup>·</sup>kównop<sup>·</sup>è<sup>·</sup>u  
à<sup>·</sup>mo<sup>·</sup>ná<sup>·</sup>npey kàtita<sup>·</sup>nan<sup>·</sup>má<sup>·</sup>nt but<sup>·</sup>after day<sup>·</sup>of<sup>·</sup>Saturday<sup>·</sup>  
one but<sup>·</sup>there<sup>·</sup>Nahnpey came-up(hon.)<sup>·</sup>in<sup>·</sup>Mahnt sá<sup>·</sup>um salápuk<sup>·</sup>  
me<sup>·</sup>lúke Sahum Salapuk<sup>·</sup>who<sup>·</sup>invites

A.: ey yes

P.: a<sup>·</sup>píl<sup>·</sup>pa<sup>·</sup>n áy<sup>·</sup>kàtita ú<sup>·</sup>kiya and<sup>·</sup>also<sup>·</sup>will Ay<sup>·</sup>  
come<sup>·</sup>up invite-me àri<sup>·</sup>ṇáy sayrén<sup>·</sup>yaṇ pwe<sup>·</sup>y<sup>·</sup>só<sup>·</sup>ṭa i<sup>·</sup>so<sup>·</sup>ṭa<sup>·</sup>  
nò<sup>·</sup>n<sup>·</sup>men<sup>·</sup>yáṇ pwè<sup>·</sup>ki<sup>·</sup>y<sup>·</sup>ap<sup>·</sup>ṭá<sup>·</sup>n purelà<sup>·</sup>saṇ<sup>·</sup>koló<sup>·</sup>nyà  
kolònya<sup>·</sup>ṭ<sup>·</sup>mén mwiya<sup>·</sup>ay kìs<sup>·</sup>in<sup>·</sup>tóto<sup>·</sup>k well<sup>·</sup>I unwillingly<sup>·</sup>  
be-with because<sup>·</sup>I<sup>·</sup>not I<sup>·</sup>not<sup>·</sup>too-much<sup>·</sup>want-to<sup>·</sup>be-with  
because<sup>·</sup>I<sup>·</sup>but<sup>·</sup>only<sup>·</sup>of returned-there-from<sup>·</sup>Colony Colony-  
here<sup>·</sup>want-to do<sup>·</sup>my bit<sup>·</sup>of<sup>·</sup>work ari<sup>·</sup>ṇáy<sup>·</sup>yaṇata<sup>·</sup>í<sup>·</sup> well<sup>·</sup>I<sup>·</sup>  
joined<sup>·</sup>him ari<sup>·</sup>kì<sup>·</sup>ṭ<sup>·</sup>ko<sup>·</sup>tá<sup>·</sup>la lél<sup>·</sup>re<sup>·</sup>·n sá<sup>·</sup>um salápuk ari<sup>·</sup>  
sè<sup>·</sup>ko<sup>·</sup>tá<sup>·</sup>la ér well<sup>·</sup>we(excl.)<sup>·</sup>went-up-there reached<sup>·</sup>at<sup>·</sup>  
of Sahum Salapuk well<sup>·</sup>we(excl.)<sup>·</sup>went<sup>·</sup>up<sup>·</sup>there already  
sàwm<sup>·</sup>kaónopata<sup>·</sup>r àyn<sup>·</sup>pwot<sup>·</sup>ṭó<sup>·</sup>ṭo málèk Sahum<sup>·</sup>had-caused-  
to-prepare cook<sup>·</sup>pot<sup>·</sup>many chickens

A.: ey yes

P.: kít<sup>·</sup>en màlek<sup>·</sup>e<sup>·</sup>kemé<sup>·</sup>la thousand<sup>·</sup>of chickens<sup>·</sup>he<sup>·</sup>  
killed a<sup>·</sup>kí<sup>·</sup>ṭ<sup>·</sup>konokònot<sup>·</sup>ó<sup>·</sup> sàwmwo ù<sup>·</sup>mwo<sup>·</sup>sów but<sup>·</sup>we(excl.)<sup>·</sup>  
were-having-konot<sup>·</sup>and the-Sahum the-stone-oven<sup>·</sup>was-kindled  
à<sup>·</sup>ri<sup>·</sup>keteketó<sup>·</sup> iráyl wiyawiya<sup>·</sup>sákaw well<sup>·</sup>by-and-by they  
were-making<sup>·</sup>kava keteketò<sup>·</sup>·ú<sup>·</sup>mwo mpwól wák by-and-by<sup>·</sup>the-  
stone-oven was-filled was-emptied à<sup>·</sup>rí kà<sup>·</sup>pikó píl<sup>·</sup>kaláymuno  
mwèy<sup>·</sup>yániye well the-yams also<sup>·</sup>the-big-ones shares<sup>·</sup>does-  
with-me

A.: é·y yes

P.: ey yes (cough)

A.: kàmatipwo<sup>ú·t</sup> kò·onkómwi that-feast<sup>also</sup> went-to-you

P.: arí then<sup>này</sup> arí àlle<sup>nèké·n</sup> tò·<sup>n</sup>ay<sup>kowsápwo</sup>  
I then received to-distribute-to inhabitants of my that-section

A.: éy yes

P.: arí<sup>se</sup> píl<sup>pa·n</sup> típuk kàmatipwo then we(excl.)<sup>also</sup> will return that-feast

A.: éy yes àrí<sup>mwáw</sup> then good

P.: éy yes

A.: pwe<sup>sò·tè</sup> me<sup>pá·n</sup> píl insensúwetiki<sup>o·</sup> because<sup>there-isn't who will also be-dissatisfied and a</sup> i<sup>sò·tè</sup>  
pa·n<sup>yán</sup> típuk pwè·ta<sup>yán</sup> nèy<sup>tín</sup> ké·p but I not will be-with return because am-with receive yam

P.: éy mé·lel yes truth a<sup>l·</sup> me<sup>kin</sup> wiyáwi nan<sup>kíti</sup>  
mét<sup>but it which usually is-done in Kiti here</sup>

A.: éy yes

P.: kàmatip<sup>tó·tò</sup> wiyawíyer feasts many have-been-made  
ko·kó·to<sup>lel</sup> rà·n<sup>téyko</sup> came reached the-other-days me<sup>túwe</sup>  
ta<sup>kòm</sup> sómweta ù·mweki<sup>ró·sa</sup> that thus only you(hon.)  
kindle make-a-stone-oven-feast-for Rohsa a<sup>ró·sà</sup> túwe<sup>ta</sup>

álle kàwlo·ŋ́ émen but Rohsa thus only receives gives-to  
one a'la·p̄teyo'ú·t t̄ipuk but the-other-fellow also returns  
àri'ú·t p̄uro·ŋ́ kómwi sapwillim'omwi'ká·pko thus again come-  
back-to-you (honorific morpheme) your yams

A.: éy yes

P.: a'likamw'áta sò·t̄e'álú·s but lie only not-is loss

A.: éy yes sò·t̄e'álú·s not-is loss inen'en'mwáw straight  
of good a'f'·sò·ŋ́ me p̄il kin'wiyáwi páliyèṭ? but it kind  
which also usually is-done overhere?

P.: (laughter) ákk'èy! you-don't-say!

A.: p̄il'mé·lel also truth i'p̄il'rón̄er í·mo rà·nt̄éyko  
 i'rón̄er èkis'ári'yèṭ(?) I also heard it there the-other-days  
I heard a-bit then here(?)

P.: á· ah a'káynsensùwet but unsatisfactory

A.: éy yes inen'en'káynsensùwet straight of unsatis-  
factory

P.: e· yes

A.: a'·sùwet'iyòw p̄il but evil one also

P.: éy yes

A.: sàykint̄e'pwaráta not-yet appeared

P.: a· ah

A.: má n̄áy'p̄il sò·t̄e'pa·n'paṭó·wan when I also not  
will know(hum.)



P.: a. ah

A.: pwé·ki i·sò·tə·kin·yán kámatip because I not  
usually am-with feasts

P.: éy yes i·me it this

A.: à·me·ú·ta·n mē·kin·yéy·yān kámatipwèkà re·inen·en  
lipilipá·net but who certainly who usually indeed are-with  
feasts they straight of are-grumbling a·pil·èw·me·irayl·pil  
inen·en lókayəto·tó·ki·me·n nət and also one which they  
also straight of talk-much-by some of Net irayl·tòto·k·en  
tó·n·mētəy rà·n·sílū·nan sównpono they work of subject  
of free-labor days three during that-month

P.: e. yes

A.: ey yes á· irayl·pil·kí.. kī·la·táksis but they  
also gi.. give taxes a·irayl·pa·n·píl táksis in sápwərayl  
táksis in ní· and they will also taxes of their-land taxes  
of coconut-trees pwe·táksis in ní· saykintə·wiyáwi because  
taxes of coconut-trees not-yet are-done

P.: e. yes

A.: téné a·pà·n·wiyá·wi they-say it will be-done á·re·  
pà·n·píl kámatipw·en·wów á· á·pwe káyte·n insenərayl pwe·  
téné kīlélá·nəte wən·mwarr·wó·i· but they will also feast  
of honoring but but because not-either their-liking because  
they-say give-to-only stalk title him

P.: e. yes

A.: a·mwéyn·èlle mē·píl·púp but perhaps maybe is too right

P.: ná·nmwa... Nahnmwa...

A.: nà·nmwarrkiy·en·nət·e· wiyá·ki pwé·ki mwarrláwteka  
irayl·me·pá·n àlle·me·láwt Nahmwarrki of Net he does-by  
because the-high-titles they who will receive is big

P.: éy yes

A.: ká·re·ta iràyl·pa·n·píl wá·to·meṭ me·láwt·o·mè  
therefore they will also bring here is big and which

P.: éy yes

A.: a·mwàrr·tikitikan e·pà·n·wá·to·me tikitik but  
the-small-titles they will bring is small

P.: tikitik small

A.: e·pà·n·píl·álle·me tikitik he will also receive is  
small

P.: éy yes á·mo i·ta·wása·mmè likamw·àṭa·sápuṇ·à·n  
 kà·paka·sò·ta but there it only place which lie only wrong  
of yams not

A.: sò·ṭe·nék not distribute

P.: né·nepèsaṇ are-distributed

A.: éṣ yes i·sò·ṭe·paṭó·wan méṭ a·nsóweṭ kámatip  
 akèy·pa·n·wiyáwí I not think(hum.) here time-this feasts  
some will be-done mwèyn·elle·e·pá·n èkis·wúkila·pwè·ki  
 mùrr·ekis·lénk·mìya maybe perhaps it will a-bit change  
because just a-bit fear(hon.) there-is

P.: a·ah a·pá·n·ù·ta·n èkis it will certainly a-bit

A.: éy yes a·yéṭ·píl é·u·ṭe mé me·sò·ṭe·yaṇ·kámatipwo  
 e·lèktekila·pó·npey but here! also one only which which  
not is-with that-feast it leaves Ponape pwè·ma·kàmati·pa·n·

sò·la·wiyáwi a·sò·la·me·pá·n katò·ki·ké·p because if  
feasts will stop be-done but stop will grow yams

P.: a· ah

A.: mè·lel·opwot·mét truth one here

P.: i·pil·sò·ta·léme I also not think

A.: éy yes

P.: tà·me·ká·re·ta irà·n·solá·r pátoketi pwe·kàyaw·  
 ká·p me·kitàyl·me·mówréki kàyaw·en·pó·npey what is causing  
they(d.) should stop plant because first yam which we live-by  
first of Ponape

A.: éy yes

P.: a·mà·i·pa·n·só·la patóketi này·kis·in·ká·p a·i·  
 ú·ta·n·pà·n tú·pekila and if I will stop to-plant my bit  
of yam but I certainly will starve èlle·sò·n·en·aramès·me  
 ú·ta·n àrayl·mówr túwe·ta kò·o·n·nan·kàmatip·mè e· kàsampwálikì  
 kàmatipw·é·  
 perhaps kind of person who certainly their life thus only  
 go-to in feasts which (er) make-important feasts-eh? pwé  
 ma·kàmati·pa·n·só·la à·le.. iráyl·pa·n iráyl·lémeleme  
 iráyl·en·só·la patóketi because if feasts will stop but thi..  
they will they think they should stop to-plant

A.: patóketi·ké·p plant yams

P.: éy yes

A.: apwót one pwe·mà·n·ta·ré·rayl ké·p because is

of what for-them yam

P.: e. yes

A.: pwe<sup>iráy</sup>l pat<sup>pat</sup>keti<sup>ké</sup>p àr<sup>me</sup>·n<sup>kámatip</sup>  
because they are-planting yam their being of feasts

P.: àr<sup>me</sup>·n<sup>kámatip</sup> their being of feasts

A.: éy yes

P.: nà<sup>y</sup>pil<sup>só</sup>·ta kin<sup>yá</sup>n<sup>mwà</sup>wki kámatip I<sup>also</sup>  
not usually am-with like feasts a·rì<sup>a</sup>·nsów<sup>me</sup> túwe<sup>ta</sup>  
má nà<sup>npey</sup>·pá·n pwàrela<sup>réy</sup> kàtìla<sup>réy</sup> a<sup>i</sup>·ù·ta·n<sup>pa</sup>·n<sup>kámatip</sup>  
pwé·ki túwe<sup>ta</sup>·sów i<sup>pil</sup>·wáwneki well<sup>time</sup> which  
thus only if Nahnpey<sup>will</sup> appear<sup>at-my-place</sup> go-over(hon.)  
to-me but I<sup>certainly</sup> will feast because thus only clan  
I<sup>also</sup> honor

A.: éy yes

P.: isówpeyti the-Sowpeyts

A.: éy yes i<sup>pil</sup>·éw<sup>me</sup>·pìl ú·ta·n kámatipw<sup>en</sup>·wów  
it also one which also certainly feast of honor kámatipw<sup>en</sup>  
·wów ú·ta·n àrames<sup>pá</sup>·n wiyá·yoy feasts of honor cert-  
ainly people will make-to

P.: éy yes

A.: e<sup>·ná</sup>·nmwarrki their Nahnmmwarrki à<sup>me</sup>·tò·tò<sup>me</sup>  
lokolokàya<sup>tò</sup>·tò·n<sup>kámatipw</sup>·en<sup>wów</sup> but are many who  
are-talking much of feasts of honor

P.: éy yes

A.: akèy`lólè me`kàmatipw`en`wów ú`ta`n kónè`n  
some`feel`that`feast`of`honor`certainly`be`given-to

P.: ú`ta`n`kóna`n certainly`be`given-to

A.: à`rí è` well (er) kàyte`k`íntè sòwpeytí`ko`  
 mè`pa`n kilèlèyóníyè wèn`me`i`pá`n wéyrata not-either`  
at-all`the-Sowpeytis`who`will`give-me`stalk`which`I`  
will`dig-up

P.: a` ah

A.: és yes

P.: túwe`ta`insénay thus`only`my-desire

A.: inséney my-desire pil`é`u`me`i`lèmelémé`yo`me  
 me`súwet`ni nin`túwe`tè kàwpe`n`kàmatip also`one`which`I  
am-thinking-of`is`is`bad`in`in`thus`only`worsening`of`  
feasts`è`kepwentà`la`me`n`pó`npey`it`retarded`some`of`  
Ponape

P.: éy yes

A.: pwé`n lèmelém`en`me`n`pó`npey inen`en`tégèla`  
 nan`kàmatip because`of`thought`of`some`of`Ponape`straight`  
of`stiffened`in`feasts

P.: (chuckle) mè`lel`me`mó true`is`that kom`mwá`nì  
 sò`n`en`áramès`me túwe`ta sò`ta màtamatawa tà`me`ú`ta`n  
 wiyawiya`pup`é` you(hon.)`know(hon.)`kind`of`person`which



thus only not is-thinking what is certainly is-making  
right eh?

A.: éy yes

P.: me<sup>ˈ</sup>tùwe<sup>ˈ</sup>ʔa<sup>ˈ</sup>pó·npey en<sup>ˈ</sup>kekèyrta<sup>ˈ</sup>nàn<sup>ˈ</sup>márayn<sup>ˈ</sup>è·  
that<sup>ˈ</sup>thus<sup>ˈ</sup>only<sup>ˈ</sup>Ponape should<sup>ˈ</sup>raise<sup>ˈ</sup>in<sup>ˈ</sup>light<sup>ˈ</sup>eh? kàmatip<sup>ˈ</sup>  
so·ʔa<sup>ˈ</sup>kák kapwayé·ta sò·ŋ<sup>ˈ</sup>en<sup>ˈ</sup>áramas<sup>ˈ</sup>me sò·ʔa<sup>ˈ</sup>a·<sup>ˈ</sup>márayn  
pwe<sup>ˈ</sup>míya<sup>ˈ</sup>áramas<sup>ˈ</sup>mè lāmalamá·ʔa kàmatip kàmatip kàmatip  
feasts<sup>ˈ</sup>not<sup>ˈ</sup>can anticipate kind<sup>ˈ</sup>of<sup>ˈ</sup>person<sup>ˈ</sup>who not<sup>ˈ</sup>his<sup>ˈ</sup>  
light because<sup>ˈ</sup>there-are<sup>ˈ</sup>people<sup>ˈ</sup>who are-thinking-only  
feasts feasts feasts

A.: ey yes

P.: a<sup>ˈ</sup>sò·ʔa<sup>ˈ</sup>lāmelame tà·<sup>ˈ</sup>me<sup>ˈ</sup>pá·n ká·re·ta aram(in-  
distinct) insen<sup>ˈ</sup>amwáw<sup>ˈ</sup>te .... but<sup>ˈ</sup>not<sup>ˈ</sup>be-thinking-what<sup>ˈ</sup>is<sup>ˈ</sup>  
will cause people(?) spirits<sup>ˈ</sup>good<sup>ˈ</sup>or ....

-x-x-x-x-x-x-

(Second Spool)

P.: yèʔ<sup>ˈ</sup>tùwe<sup>ˈ</sup>n<sup>ˈ</sup>me<sup>ˈ</sup>í<sup>ˈ</sup>pil lāmeláme tùwe<sup>ˈ</sup>n<sup>ˈ</sup>kàmatipwe  
mé suwetekiyoŋ akéy<sup>ˈ</sup>aràmes here!<sup>ˈ</sup>thus<sup>ˈ</sup>of<sup>ˈ</sup>which<sup>ˈ</sup>I<sup>ˈ</sup>also  
am-thinking thus<sup>ˈ</sup>of<sup>ˈ</sup>feasting which are-angry-at some<sup>ˈ</sup>  
people kom<sup>ˈ</sup>mwá·ŋì riyay<sup>ˈ</sup>o·l<sup>ˈ</sup>ryáman yèy<sup>ˈ</sup>ara<sup>ˈ</sup>mówr(?)  
tò·<sup>ˈ</sup>n<sup>ˈ</sup>kapàr en<sup>ˈ</sup>kàmatip<sup>ˈ</sup>kóros you(hon.)<sup>ˈ</sup>know(hon.) my-  
siblings<sup>ˈ</sup>men<sup>ˈ</sup>two here<sup>ˈ</sup>their(d.)<sup>ˈ</sup>life(?) inhabitants<sup>ˈ</sup>  
of<sup>ˈ</sup>dance-bridge of<sup>ˈ</sup>feasts<sup>ˈ</sup>all

A.: éy yes

P.: éy yes á· tùwe<sup>ˈ</sup>ʔa<sup>ˈ</sup>patóketi ká·p pil<sup>ˈ</sup>patóketi<sup>ˈ</sup>  
~~

sákàw ira<sup>sò</sup>·ta<sup>ˆ</sup>patòketi<sup>ˆ</sup>láwt but thus only plant yam  
also plant kava they(d.) don't plant great

A.: éy yes

P.: pwè<sup>ˆ</sup>ki<sup>ˆ</sup>mó because there ira<sup>ˆ</sup>mwáwki kamátip  
kamátip they(d.) like feasts feasts á<sup>ˆ</sup> à<sup>ˆ</sup>nsow<sup>ˆ</sup>n<sup>ˆ</sup>kamátip  
a<sup>ˆ</sup>ira<sup>ˆ</sup>pil<sup>ˆ</sup>só<sup>ˆ</sup>ta<sup>ˆ</sup>kàk wéyrata kà<sup>ˆ</sup>p<sup>ˆ</sup> tó<sup>ˆ</sup>to but time of  
feast but they(d.) also not can dig-up yams many

A.: éy yes

P.: ari<sup>ˆ</sup>ì<sup>ˆ</sup>so<sup>ˆ</sup>q<sup>ˆ</sup>en<sup>ˆ</sup>áramas me<sup>ˆ</sup>likamwó<sup>ˆ</sup>ta e<sup>ˆ</sup> kámatip  
suwetí<sup>ˆ</sup>yon pwé tuwe<sup>ˆ</sup>ta<sup>ˆ</sup>rè<sup>ˆ</sup>só<sup>ˆ</sup>ta<sup>ˆ</sup>kak tuwe<sup>ˆ</sup>ta<sup>ˆ</sup>péyn<sup>ˆ</sup>miyá<sup>ˆ</sup>  
ta a<sup>ˆ</sup>péyn<sup>ˆ</sup>a<sup>ˆ</sup>r<sup>ˆ</sup>lámalam well it kind of person who lie  
only (er) feasts are bad-for because thus only they  
not can thus only self be-there only but self their  
thought

A.: éy yes

P.: a<sup>ˆ</sup>í<sup>ˆ</sup>so<sup>ˆ</sup>q<sup>ˆ</sup>en<sup>ˆ</sup>áramas me<sup>ˆ</sup>kámatip (chuckle) sò<sup>ˆ</sup>ta<sup>ˆ</sup>  
mwáw but it kind of person that feasts (ch.) not good  
á<sup>ˆ</sup>áramas me<sup>ˆ</sup>túwe<sup>ˆ</sup>ta<sup>ˆ</sup> ar<sup>ˆ</sup>lámalam<sup>ˆ</sup>miya ì<sup>ˆ</sup>me<sup>ˆ</sup>mwá<sup>ˆ</sup>woq<sup>ˆ</sup>yàn  
kámati<sup>ˆ</sup>pwé<sup>ˆ</sup>ki<sup>ˆ</sup> rè<sup>ˆ</sup>kak<sup>ˆ</sup>né<sup>ˆ</sup>kpèsaŋ but people which thus  
only their thought there-is it which better is-with  
feasts because they can distribute á<sup>ˆ</sup> yét<sup>ˆ</sup>elle<sup>ˆ</sup>n  
tòtò<sup>ˆ</sup>k<sup>ˆ</sup>en<sup>ˆ</sup>kámatipw<sup>ˆ</sup>a<sup>ˆ</sup> but here! perhaps of work of  
feast but

A.: ey yes

P.: yét ù·ta·n'élle'n here! certainly perhaps of

A.: ey yes

P.: tótó·k'en work of

A.: nékpesèn distributing

P.: (chuckle)

A.: nàý·pató·wanpe'n kàmati·pwé·ki likámw'etè  
 təkətəykan iráyl'inén'en tēyla·sáŋer·pò·npey I think-  
 ing(hum.)-about of feasts because lie only the-other-  
 islands they straight of have-advanced-beyond Ponape

P.: akkéy you-don't-say!

A.: éy yes nin'sòŋ'en'lólokorka in manner of  
wise-things

P.: éy yes

A.: a·pò·npey'inén'en tēŋela·r'en'kámatis but  
 ponape straight of has-fastened of feasts pwé·ki ì·  
 tē·me·me·n'pó·npey lēmēlēme'kámatis kámatis because  
 it only which some of Ponape are-thinking feasts feasts  
 ì·tē·en'me·n'pó·npey'a· sówpisek it only of some of  
 Ponape his not-having-time nan'mòŋarayl'kámatis in  
 their-heads feasts me'tò·tò·puták'mè (cough) e· se'  
 wiyà·ki'e·u'skú·l are many boys who (c.) (er) we did-by  
one school

P.: a· ah

A.: éy yes arí kî·t̃·wiya·ki·é·u nèksaŋ·nañ  
 sikú·l we·did-by·one finished-from·in·school à·rí  
 i·r·kóla·ŋ ni·ù·ta·ñ·ineñ·en well·they·go-to in·cert-  
 ainly·straight·of

P.: a· ah

A.: pò·npey·ñ·kámátipwo Ponape·of·that-feast (cough)  
 à·rí ineñ·en·páwk(?)·ew kà·re·ta·pó·npey sò·t̃·kékéyrata  
 well straight·of·shame·one because·Ponape not·grows

P.: kakáyrata grows mé·lel truth

A.: me·lawláywer·mèyŋ is·has-grown-lesser·sir

P.: éy yes

A.: tuwe·t̃·i·paṭopaṭó·wan m̃iya·árames·me sò·t̃·  
 no·ñ·mó·nki kámátip thus·only·I·am-thinking(hum.)  
 there-are·people·who not·too-much·prefer feasts

P.: ey yes

A.: iràyl·me·ékis lāmélam·m̃iya they·who·a-bit  
 thinking·there-is

P.: é·y yes lāmélam·m̃iya thinking·there-is  
 mè·lel·réwmwi truth·with-you í·me i·paṭó·wan kámátip  
 árames·me sò·t̃·a·r·lámalam sò·t̃·a·mwáw it·which I  
 think(hum.) feasts people·who not-is·their·thinking  
 not-is·good

(Enter Dan)

P.: L. P.: L. G.: arí well

P.: (chuckle) tùwè<sup>ta</sup> kák kóm so<sup>ta</sup> yǎŋ<sup>ka</sup> pílla<sup>n</sup>(?)  
 kamátip me<sup>wiyàwi</sup> kítì thus<sup>only</sup> can you(hon.) not<sup>were-</sup>  
 with<sup>next-to(?)</sup> of feast which<sup>was-made</sup> Kiti

D.: só. no

P.: kàmatipw<sup>en</sup> pláy<sup>k</sup> me kapílla tó<sup>ke</sup> tor feast<sup>of</sup>  
 flag<sup>that</sup> was<sup>-near</sup> doctor

D.: só. no sò<sup>te</sup> yǎŋ<sup>pwè</sup> ki ní<sup>a</sup> nsòwo<sup>i</sup> sòwpisèk<sup>ay</sup>  
 pwé<sup>ay</sup> not<sup>was-with</sup> because in<sup>that-time</sup> I<sup>not-had-time</sup>  
 because<sup>-of</sup> my

P.: á. ah yey<sup>yàn</sup> seléwí pròfesó<sup>r</sup> lo<sup>were-with-around</sup>  
 professor

D.: éy yes

P.: kàmatipwo<sup>men</sup> màyn sowpeytì<sup>nweynkití</sup> ko iráyl  
 mà<sup>saní</sup> me sán<sup>kàwa</sup> ko kò<sup>to</sup> saykìnta<sup>é</sup> u that<sup>-feast</sup>  
 wants<sup>-to</sup> lord the<sup>-Sowpeytis-of</sup> Kiti<sup>-district</sup> they say(hon.)  
 that from<sup>olden-times</sup> be<sup>-coming</sup> not<sup>-yet</sup> one

A.: éy yes

D.: éy yes

A.: i<sup>píl</sup> pa<sup>tó</sup> wan rón<sup>pwe</sup> yà<sup>tuwe</sup> téne èmen<sup>te</sup>  
 áramas<sup>kín</sup> e kà<sup>reto</sup> pwí<sup>k</sup> pá<sup>men</sup> ape lím<sup>men</sup> I<sup>also</sup>  
 knew(hum.) heard because<sup>where</sup> thus<sup>they-say</sup> one<sup>only</sup>  
 person<sup>usually</sup> (er) brought<sup>pigs</sup> four<sup>and-the-like</sup>  
 five



P.: ey yes

A.: a'áramas'sókala pó'n'mwòge but^people^trampled  
above-of^food

P.: éy yes rà·ntéyo í^pil pwàrala^ní ò·pis^en^wéy^  
kíti the-other-day I^also appeared^in office^of^district^  
of^Kiti a^háy pwé^ta kámatipwo wiyawí·ta mó wasá·o but^I  
because-only the-feast was-made-only there that-place

A.: éy yes

P.: sé·u mì·miye^ler^rá·n^wet túwe^·n^a^ó·la sugar-  
cane stayed^reached^day^this thus^of^it^broke^yes

A.: éy yes

P.: àri^kámatipwò likamw^áta me^kaláymun well^feast-  
that lie^only was^big káyte·n^likamw^áta mé^kaláymun not-  
either^lie^only was^big á· likamw^áta^a·p^sò·ta sò·ta^me^  
insensúwetiki pwè·ki^likamw^áta áramas^korí·siya limwá·ta  
e· túwe^ta^pérrenki pwè·ki^kámatipw^en piláyko but lie^  
only^but^not not-are^who^were-dissatisfied because^lie^  
only people^allest near-us (er) thus^only^rejoiced be-  
cause^feast^of that-flag

A.: piláyko that-flag

P.: a^i^lámelam^má túwe^ta lò·k^in^net^pá·n pòse·n(?)^  
re·ín^sówpeyti·ko i^lámelam sò·ta^me^kák perrenkí·ta but^  
I^think^if thus^only part^of^sówpeytis^will shrink(?)^at^  
of^sówpeytis I^am-thinking not^which^can rejoice

A.: ey yes

P.: tè'me'á'pá'n'wiyáwi à' sò'ta'kak'wó'ta or  
which it will be-done but not can great only

D.: wò'te'mó great only there

A.: é'pá'n'tikitík it will small

P.: pá'n'tikitík will small

A.: éy yes

P.: ey yes

A.: é'pá'n'tikitík sò'te'no'n'kapérren'pá'n...  
it will small not overly gladdening will...

P.: arí well i'píl'kilikilán mwòkit'en'áramasaka  
 rá'no I'also'was-looking-at movement'of'people that-day  
 túwe'ta áramas'akéy'me túwe'ta lámelame'mé áram.. í'r'  
 áramas túwe'ta mará'yenki wiyawíya'n márayn'nin sampa'  
 wét thus only people some who thus only think who peo..  
they people thus only are-light-by be-doing of light  
in world this

A.: ey yes

P.: likámw'ata'ré'píl rá'no'ré'píl mómw'en (chuckle)  
lie only they also that-day they also face of (c.)

A.: éy yes (chuckle)

P.: áramas'rótorot'mèt people dark here

A.: éy yes

P.: (chuckle) ari'í·meṭ me'túwe'ta káwpe'n  
kàmatipw'on'kiṭáyl'nin túwe'ta thus it here which thus  
only abolition of feasts to us(pl.) in thus only

A.: éy yes pwè·ṭe'í'lámalam inen'en'kàrakarrá·k  
because-only I am-thinking straight of low

D.: ey yes

A.: ey yes

P.: í·me'pa·n'pwáyta'mà kàmatip it what will happen  
if feasts

A.: ey yes

P.: túwe'ta'pá·n sò·la'pwáyta mè·lel'pó·npey thus  
only will stop happen truth Ponape í'lámalam'áramas'  
kóros te'mwà·naka'kóros'kàk katáyala ar' lámalam I am-  
thinking people all or males all can lift-up their  
thinking

A.: éy yes í·me'túwe'te í'kin'lémeleme it which  
thus only I usually am-thinking

P.: (chuckle)

D.: kom'mwá·ṇi'mèn mè·nnámwanamakan likámwo írayl  
rà·n'weṭ'írayl téysan you(hon.) know(hon.) that the-  
outislanders that-lie they day this they are-further-  
than

A.: ey ey yes-yes

D.: mè·n·pó·npey some-of-Ponape

A.: tèysan·mè·n·pó·npey further-than-some-of-Ponape

P.: éy yes

A.: mè·n·pó·npey ténela·ni·kàmatipwo some-of-Ponape  
fastened-in-that-feast

D.: e· yes ya·túwe·n where-thus-of

A.: me·n·spéyn mwèy·n·me·n·sérmen mwèy·n·me·n·  
sápa·n lèl·me·n·amérika pò·npey·tuwetuwé··te some-of-  
Spain time-of-some-of-German time-of-some-of-Japan  
reach-some-of-America Ponape-thus-thus-only

D.: tùwetuwé··te thus-thus-only

A.: ey yes má·re·n ékis·kis·in mwòkititá·tikitik  
if-they-should a-bit-bit-of move-up-small

D.: ey yes

P.: ey yes élle èlle·e·u·rá·n kàmati·pá·n tikitik  
tè só·la perhaps-perhaps-one-day feasts-will small-or  
stop i·lámelam sòn·en·mó I-am-thinking kind-of-there  
tí·y·en tí·y·en·sówpeyti·mè me·túwe·tà mwéy·wet ma  
iràyl·pa·n·pówla me·nàn·wey·n·kiti·mé generation-of  
generation-of-sowpeytis-which-which-thus-only time  
this if-they-will-pass-away who-in-district-of-Kiti-are

A.: éy yes

P.: i`pàtopatò`ki kàmatí`pa`n kerényon ú`tála  
I`am-thinking-by(hum.) around-to stop-up-there

A.: pà`n`tikitíksan mwèyn`elle`pà`n`pil tuwè``tè`  
 pwè`ki will`be-smaller maybe`perhaps`will`also`thus`  
only`because

P.: éy éy yes yes

A.: a`pà`n`pil`púnela it`will`also`become-right

P.: pà`n`púnela will`become-right é`y yes o``èlle`  
 i`á`nsow túwe`ta lámelam`en`áramas`pà`n túwe`ta  
 kásawtá`san nan`lámelam`en`pó`npey and`perhaps`it`time  
thus`only`thinking`of`people`will`thus`only`rise-up-above  
in`thinking`of`Ponape

A.: éy yes mè`n`pó`npey sò`tè`kin`insenó`ki mó`nì  
not`usually`care-for`money sò`tè`insenó`ki sukú`l not`  
care-for`school sò`tè`insenó`ki`pil rapà`ki`són`en  
 tòto`ktéyka not`care-for`also`seek`kind`of`other-labors  
 pwe`í`tè` because`it`only

P.: éy yes

A.: patòketiyetè`ké`p patòketi`sákaw pwè`ki`me`n`  
kámatip`plants-only`yams`plants`kava`because`is`of`feasts

P.: kamwónata pwì`n`kaláymun feed`pig`big

A.: éy yes

P.: pwè`ki`me`n`kámatip because`is`of`feasts



A.: patóketi sàkaw<sup>ˆ</sup>kaláymun plant kava<sup>ˆ</sup>big

P.: (chuckle)

A.: patóketi kè·p<sup>ˆ</sup>kaláymun plant yam<sup>ˆ</sup>big í<sup>ˆ</sup>te sup..  
sòwpisek<sup>ˆ</sup>en<sup>ˆ</sup>me<sup>ˆ</sup>·n<sup>ˆ</sup>pó·npey it<sup>ˆ</sup>only not-ha.. not-have-time<sup>ˆ</sup>  
of<sup>ˆ</sup>some<sup>ˆ</sup>of Ponape mwèyn<sup>ˆ</sup>elle<sup>ˆ</sup>mú·r<sup>ˆ</sup>a<sup>ˆ</sup>pà·n kámati<sup>ˆ</sup>pà·n  
púgela maybe<sup>ˆ</sup>perhaps<sup>ˆ</sup>later<sup>ˆ</sup>it<sup>ˆ</sup>will feasts<sup>ˆ</sup>will become-right

P.: éy yes

A.: pwe<sup>ˆ</sup>ma<sup>ˆ</sup>í:ˆso·n<sup>ˆ</sup>en<sup>ˆ</sup>kamatip<sup>ˆ</sup>mè wiyáwi<sup>ˆ</sup>mè túwe<sup>ˆ</sup>te  
mès<sup>ˆ</sup>en<sup>ˆ</sup>pék because<sup>ˆ</sup>if<sup>ˆ</sup>it<sup>ˆ</sup>kind<sup>ˆ</sup>of<sup>ˆ</sup>feast<sup>ˆ</sup>which is-done<sup>ˆ</sup>which  
thus<sup>ˆ</sup>only face<sup>ˆ</sup>of<sup>ˆ</sup>yam<sup>ˆ</sup>slice

P.: éy yes

A.: te<sup>ˆ</sup>kamatipw<sup>ˆ</sup>en<sup>ˆ</sup>nan<sup>ˆ</sup>penéyneý or<sup>ˆ</sup>feast<sup>ˆ</sup>of<sup>ˆ</sup>in<sup>ˆ</sup>family

P.: éy yes

A.: éy yes

P.: píl<sup>ˆ</sup>kaporapórki e·u<sup>ˆ</sup>rà·n<sup>ˆ</sup>pa·n<sup>ˆ</sup>só·la also<sup>ˆ</sup>hope  
one<sup>ˆ</sup>day<sup>ˆ</sup>will<sup>ˆ</sup>stop

A.: éy yes likamw<sup>ˆ</sup>éte í<sup>ˆ</sup>mur<sup>ˆ</sup>·rón<sup>ˆ</sup>ekis mé mwírri<sup>ˆ</sup>n<sup>ˆ</sup>  
sównpar<sup>ˆ</sup>key à<sup>ˆ</sup>pa·n<sup>ˆ</sup>ékis<sup>ˆ</sup>ekis lie<sup>ˆ</sup>only I<sup>ˆ</sup>just<sup>ˆ</sup>heard<sup>ˆ</sup>a-bit  
that after<sup>ˆ</sup>of<sup>ˆ</sup>years<sup>ˆ</sup>some it<sup>ˆ</sup>will<sup>ˆ</sup>a-bit<sup>ˆ</sup>a-bit

P.: éy yes ù·ta·n<sup>ˆ</sup>a<sup>ˆ</sup>pá·n pó·pwi..(?) certainly<sup>ˆ</sup>it<sup>ˆ</sup>  
will fall(?)..

A.: éy yes

P.: má túwe<sup>ta</sup> àramas<sup>kóros</sup> tíyarata<sup>r</sup> máràyin  
 te<sup>lólókoŋ</sup> lòlokónla<sup>r</sup> re<sup>pá<sup>n</sup>kak</sup> kasáw.. tiyaràta<sup>mé</sup>  
 kámatip sò<sup>ta<sup>kák</sup></sup> if thus only people all have-found  
light or wise have-wisened they will can find-ou..  
find that feasts not can

A.: ey yes

P.: arí èlle<sup>e<sup>u</sup>rá<sup>n</sup></sup> kiṭáyí<sup>pa<sup>n</sup></sup> wasá<sup>^n<sup>me</sup></sup> èlle  
 ma<sup>kíṭa<sup>pá<sup>n</sup></sup></sup> mé<sup>mowr</sup> èlle<sup>kíṭa<sup>pá<sup>n</sup></sup></sup> è<sup>^ása</sup> tawlu<sup>l(?)</sup> en<sup>^</sup>  
 kámatip well perhaps one day we(pl.) shall place of which  
perhaps if we(d.) shall be alive perhaps we(d.) shall  
(er) know further(?) of feasts

A.: éy yes

(Enter Nallaym)

P. L. G.: arí well kaselè<sup>lya</sup> nállaym hello Nallaym

N.: kaselè<sup>lya</sup> hello (chuckle)

P. L. G.: (was haben Sie gesagt?) tà<sup>^me<sup>kóm</sup></sup>... what  
is you(hon.)

N.: kaselè<sup>lya</sup> hello

A.: kaselè<sup>lya</sup> isó<sup>^</sup> hello (honorific morpheme)

P.: mó kosóype<sup>n</sup> kámatip mè<sup>se<sup>paṭopaṭó<sup>wan</sup></sup></sup> pòwe  
 nállaym there story-about of feasts which we(excl.)  
are-talking(hum.) upon-it

N.: (eh)

P.: pó·npey likamw'á·ta·kámati·píl àramas'tó·to  
 mè·a·mà·saniki Ponape lie only feast also people many  
who he talk-about(hon.)

N.: éy yes

P.: píl also

D.: i·píl·paťó·wan rón I also knew(hum.) heard

P.: nan·wéyet ákèy túwe'ta mè·a·mà·saní túwe·n·kámatis  
in this-district some thus only which he says(hon.) thus  
of which he says(hon.) thus of feasts i·me·se·paťopaťó·wan  
me·i·paťó·wanòŋ lá·pe·mè it which we(excl.) are-thinking(hum.)  
which I think-of(hum.) this-fellow here nan·wey·n·kíti e·  
kámatis píl·kin·wiyáwi in district of Kiti (er) feasts  
also usually are-done

N.: ey yes

P.: á·p sán·ni insen·en·árames but from in liking of  
people

N.: éy yes

P.: káyte·k' sán·rè·n·sówpeyti not-either from at of  
Sówpeytis

N.: éy yes

P.: àri·me·ú·t wiyáwi·a·nsówet mé àrames·wása·n  
 kámatiswo well which also is-done this-time that people  
that-feast  
place of ná·npèy a·á·pa·n kàťila·ó·kàwló·ŋ·emen Nahnpèy

he^but^will go-up(hon.)^and give-to^one

N.: ey yes

P.: kamátip feast

N.: éy yes

P.: a^ò·lo^a·p^ú·t but^that-man^however^also

N.: wiyá·ta does

P.: wiyá·ta^u·t kapuré·yon tùwe^ta^kasapá·lla·^n  
ò·l·tèyo does^also gives-back-to thus^only^returning^of  
that-other-man

N.: ey yes

P.: e^kámátip his feast

N.: éy yes

P.: a^ì·^me^wiyáwi a·nsówet but^it^which^is-dóne  
this-time á·p s^à·m^paṭopaṭó·wan, ó·^lel me^kiṭáyl^me·^n^  
pò·npey pwe^likamw^áṭa ì·^me^mé·^n^pò·npey kiṭáyl  
sàkakáyrki^nan mé·ka but we^but^are-thinking(hum.)^and^  
reached which^we^some^of^Ponape because^lie^only it^which^  
some^of^Ponape we fail-to-grow^in these àramas^en^pó·npey^  
kòros ò·l^kòros pil^puṭá·k me^mwáw kámátipwa people^of^  
Ponape^all men^all also^boys who^like give-feasts ì·^te^  
aráyl lámalam it^only^their thinking

N.: éy yes

P.: ì^pa·n^patòketi^ká·p pwé pwe^n^kámátip te^sákaw^

pwòtɛtɛ té pà·n·kámwɔŋə pwí·k·manɛtɛ pwè·n·kaláymun  
 I·shall·plant·yam because because·should·feast or·kava·  
 this or shall·feed pig·this because·should·big (chuckle)

N.: éy yes

P.: o·f·mo lāmalam·tá·koŋ and·it·there think·  
 what·thing kiŋáyl e· pùrepuró·ŋaŋa we(pl.) (er) are-  
 just-repeating

N.: ey yes

P.: pùrepuró·ŋ repeat

N.: éy yes sòtɛ·pil·é·u·sò·ŋ not·also·one·way

P.: éy yes

A.: kàyte·k·me·n·mó·nì not-either·some·of·money

N.: ey yes

A.: pwe·mè·n·kámatip because·some·of·feasts

N.: mè·n·kámatip some·of·feasts

P.: (chuckle) à·ma·f·tuwè mó but·if·it·thus there  
 kiŋáyl·káŋ·in kasáwata sapwíllim·aŋáyl kúpur pwe·kiŋáyl·  
 te·r tùwetuwé·ŋa we(pl.)·deign·of investigate (honor-  
 ific morpheme)·our(pl.) minds because·we(pl.)·shouldn't  
 thus-thus·only

N.: éy yes

P.: mwéy·wetɛ mwèy·n·amérika time·this time·of·



America ma<sup>^</sup>ki<sup>^</sup>ta<sup>^</sup>yl<sup>^</sup> pil e<sup>^</sup> kupurata<sup>^</sup>ki<sup>^</sup>ta<sup>^</sup>yl<sup>^</sup> en kasawata<sup>^</sup>  
 kupurata<sup>^</sup>yl pwé<sup>^</sup>ki irayl<sup>^</sup>nen<sup>^</sup> en katikiyon<sup>^</sup>ki<sup>^</sup>ta<sup>^</sup>yl tuwe<sup>^</sup>  
 ta<sup>^</sup>pata<sup>^</sup>·k<sup>^</sup>mwaw te<sup>^</sup>kaya<sup>^</sup>·n<sup>^</sup>mwaw te<sup>^</sup>marayn if<sup>^</sup>we<sup>^</sup>also (er)  
 decide(hon.)<sup>^</sup>we<sup>^</sup>should investigate<sup>^</sup>our-minds(hon.)<sup>^</sup> be-  
 cause they<sup>^</sup>straight<sup>^</sup>of give-to-us(hon.)<sup>^</sup> thus<sup>^</sup>only<sup>^</sup>  
 teaching<sup>^</sup>good or<sup>^</sup>habit<sup>^</sup>good or<sup>^</sup>light

A.: éy yes

N.: yéy<sup>^</sup>met<sup>^</sup> lo<sup>^</sup>here

A.: éy yes

P.: tè<sup>^</sup>ta<sup>^</sup>mó or<sup>^</sup>what<sup>^</sup>there

A.: éy yes i<sup>^</sup>so<sup>^</sup>·n<sup>^</sup>mé<sup>^</sup>i ti<sup>^</sup>wo<sup>^</sup>·kila<sup>^</sup>·r ní.. it<sup>^</sup>kind<sup>^</sup>  
 that<sup>^</sup>I would-like-to-but-can't in..

P.: (chuckle)

N.: mé<sup>^</sup>·teykan the-others

A.: en<sup>^</sup>lèkitékila kámatip should<sup>^</sup>leave feasting

N.: ey yes

A.: owe<sup>^</sup>ki<sup>^</sup>ta<sup>^</sup>yl... because<sup>^</sup>we(pl.)...

N.: én<sup>^</sup>man<sup>^</sup> wúkitakila sán<sup>^</sup>met<sup>^</sup> should<sup>^</sup>(untranslated)  
 change from<sup>^</sup>here

P.: éy yes

A.: éy yes

N.: wúkitakila mòm-w'én-kámatip change looks of  
feasts

A.: éy yes mòm-w'én-kámatip looks of feasts

N.: é-pa-n ínén-en árames-lùwètíla ní-insén-amwàw  
it will straight of person weaken in spirits good

D.: ì-métù mē-i-yá-ynsēnò-kíla-r(?) it here which  
I where had-wished-for(?)

N.: arí iráyl-kísetù(?) sówpeyti-mè-kak wukitála  
mòm-w'én-kámatipwo-è. well they (untranslated) Sowpeytis  
who can change looks of feasting eh? iráyl-mē-pil kák-tiyar  
insén-amwàw they who also can find spirits good a-rí well

P.: éy yes

A.: éy yes

N.: pwé-y sò-n-mwáw-yew-mà i-pa-n-wiyá-ta kámatip  
because I manner good one if I shall make feast

P.: a. ah

A.: e. (er)

N.: kóm kámatipwáíye you(hon.) give-a-feast-to-me  
à-i-álle kí-yon-o-lt'éyo but I receive give-to another-  
man a-b-lt'éyo but the-other-man

A.: ey yes

N.: líkámw-ètē líkámw-ètē pwé-ày-pil-léme álle

kíyorkòmwi sò·tɛ́·mən'·lú·s lie'only lie'only because'my'  
also'think receive'give-you(hon.) not'will'lose

A.: ey yes

P.: ey yes

N.: sò·tɛ́·lú·s not'loss

A.: ey yes

P.: ey yes

A.: á tùwɛ́·tɛ́·kámátípɔ̀ píl sòwpeytí·ko a·'kèlɛ·p'  
 kí·lá·tɛ́ but thus'only'give-feast-to also sòwpeytis but'  
themselves'only-give

P.: só·ŋ'·mɛ́·tɛ́ manner'here

A.: só·ŋ'·mɛ́·tɛ́ manner'here

N.: í·'·só·ŋ'·mɛ́·tɛ́ it'manner'here

P.: só·ŋɛ́·mɛ́·n its-kind'there

N.: pwe'í·'·só·ŋ'·mɛ́·kà·rɛ·ta'·yɛ́·l because'it'manner'  
which causes'they

A.: lɔ̀kaya'·tɔ́·tɔ́ talk'much

N.: lɔ̀kaya'·tɔ́·tɔ́ talk'much

A.: lípá·nɛ́·t grumble

N.: lípá·nɛ́·t grumble

A.: ey yes

N.: ya<sup>ˈ</sup>tùwe<sup>ˈ</sup>n<sup>ˈ</sup>iráyɪ kóletɪ kɪs<sup>ˈ</sup>in<sup>ˈ</sup>pwɪːŋ<sup>ˈ</sup>kaláymun  
where<sup>ˈ</sup>thus<sup>ˈ</sup>of<sup>ˈ</sup>they catch bit<sup>ˈ</sup>of<sup>ˈ</sup>pig<sup>ˈ</sup>big

P.: (chuckle)

N.: náyneki kè<sup>ˈ</sup>p<sup>ˈ</sup>tó<sup>ˈ</sup>to fɛtʃ yams<sup>ˈ</sup>many

P.: (laughter)

N.: kán mè<sup>ˈ</sup>˙kɔros<sup>ˈ</sup>mè<sup>ˈ</sup>kaláymun eat one<sup>ˈ</sup>all<sup>ˈ</sup>which<sup>ˈ</sup>big

P.: (laughter)

A.: ey yes

N.: a<sup>ˈ</sup>kák<sup>ˈ</sup>né<sup>ˈ</sup>ne<sup>ˈ</sup>re<sup>ˈ</sup>˙n<sup>ˈ</sup>áramasakan mɪya<sup>ˈ</sup>me<sup>ˈ</sup>kák kán  
 mè<sup>ˈ</sup>˙tɛ<sup>ˈ</sup>mmó but<sup>ˈ</sup>can<sup>ˈ</sup>distribute<sup>ˈ</sup>at<sup>ˈ</sup>of<sup>ˈ</sup>people there-are<sup>ˈ</sup>  
who<sup>ˈ</sup>can eat is<sup>ˈ</sup>only<sup>ˈ</sup>there (points with finger)

A.: ey yes a<sup>ˈ</sup>mɪya<sup>ˈ</sup>me<sup>ˈ</sup>pil<sup>ˈ</sup>in<sup>ˈ</sup>só<sup>ˈ</sup> but<sup>ˈ</sup>there-are<sup>ˈ</sup>who<sup>ˈ</sup>  
should<sup>ˈ</sup>not

N.: mɪ<sup>ˈ</sup>nan<sup>ˈ</sup>áyn(?)<sup>ˈ</sup>pwoʔ<sup>ˈ</sup>tɛ is<sup>ˈ</sup>in<sup>ˈ</sup>cook(?)<sup>ˈ</sup>pot<sup>ˈ</sup>only

P.: ey yes

A.: ey yes i<sup>ˈ</sup>á<sup>ˈ</sup>p<sup>ˈ</sup>tɛ paʔopaʔɔ<sup>ˈ</sup>wané<sup>ˈ</sup>ŋ túwe<sup>ˈ</sup>n<sup>ˈ</sup>inow<sup>ˈ</sup>n<sup>ˈ</sup>  
 nan<sup>ˈ</sup>taytó<sup>ˈ</sup>won I<sup>ˈ</sup>but<sup>ˈ</sup>only am-thinking-of(hum.) thus<sup>ˈ</sup>of  
bond<sup>ˈ</sup>of<sup>ˈ</sup>in<sup>ˈ</sup>World-War-II

N.: e<sup>ˈ</sup> eh

P.: ey yes

A.: me<sup>ˈ</sup>kè<sup>ˈ</sup>p<sup>ˈ</sup>kɔrúsiye kɔ<sup>ˈ</sup>to<sup>ˈ</sup>né that<sup>ˈ</sup>yams<sup>ˈ</sup>allest

came-to-be-distributed e·kè·p sò·tè·pa·n·né·ne·pwè e·  
é·pa·n kàmatipw·en·wéy·n·nèt·pon (er)·yams not·will·be-  
distributed·because (er) it·will feast·of·district·of·  
Net·round

N.: éy yes

A.: kərú·sye perréperrénki àwiáwi·b· ləl·rá·n·wet  
 sòwnpar·sílú tē·pá·yu me·túwe·tē allegst were-rejoicing-by  
were-waiting·and reached·day·this years·three or·four  
that·thus·only

N.: só· no

P., A.: (laughter)

A.: ì·pil·sò·tē·no·n kàtəpésəŋ ma·kàmatip píl  
 sò·la·wiyáwi pwe·ì·pil·sò·tē·kin·nò·n kàtəpáneki I·also·  
not·overly split-apart if·feasts also stop·being-made  
because·I·also·not·usually·overly have-use-for

P.: éy yes

N.: éy yes

A.: pil·sò·tē·kàlap·yán also·not·often·am-with

P.: éy yes

N.: á· míye míye·me·wí·nki kàmatipw·a míye·me  
 akèy·me·ínen·en lù·siki·mé·lél but there-are there-are·  
who·win-by feasts·but there-are·who some·who·straight·of  
lose-by·indeed



A.: éy yes kàwwè·ki·la·mwá·l·é· mówr destroys-by  
commoner·his·life

N.: mówr life

A.: kàwwè·ki·la·mwá·l·é· á·nsow destroys-by·commoner·  
his time

N.: á·nsow time

A.: éy yes

D.: kámatipw·en wíyawiyawì·te a·p·líkamwo má  
sòwpeytfí·ka·mè·kin kámatipwe·má·s néyrayl·á·rame·s(?)  
feasts·should just-be-made but·that-lie if the-Sow-  
peytis·who·usually give-a-feast-to·before their·people(?)

A.: éy yes a·pà·n·píl·míye it·will·also·be·there  
ma·píl·míye·e·u·á·nsow·me sòwpeytfí·ka·pa·n if·also·  
there-is-one-time-that the-Sowpeytis·will

D.: éy yes

A.: kámatipwe sapwillim·arayl·á·rame·s á·pa·n píl·  
mwáw give-feasts-to·(honorific morpheme)·their·people  
it·will also·good

N.: éy yes

D.: éy yes

N.: á·rame·s·en·nátik kámatip people·of·Ngatik feast  
a·só·men·wiyà·ta·kámatip sàkanakankí·ta but·not·wants  
make·feast feel-bad-about-it

D.: e· ah

A.: éy yes yèt·kayéw here! first

P.: (chuckle)

D.: a·i·r·men·áramas·mwá·l·tə á but they there  
people commoner only

N.: ey yes

A.: ey yes

D.: áramas sòwpeytí·ka só· people Sowpeytis no ey  
yes

P.: wíklunt(?) (untranslated) komwàyl·me·<sup>n</sup>·píngelap  
kàyte·<sup>n</sup>·mó kámatip you(pl.) some of Pingelap not-either  
there feasts

D.: me·<sup>n</sup>·píngelap·kin·kámatip some of Pingelap usual-  
ly feasts

P.: á· ah

D.: ma·i·pà·<sup>n</sup>·wíya ay·tùgol·kámatipw·ew rá·no kíta·  
píl·pa·<sup>n</sup> mwàwki·me·<sup>n</sup>·lúk(?)·in sòwpeytí·ka if I will  
make my (humiliative morpheme) feast one that-day we(d.)  
also will like-to be of invite(?) of Sowpeytis á·ri  
korù·sya·en·kó·to rá·no well allest should come that-day

P.: (hm)

D.: tè·píl·é· é· áramas or also (er) (er) people

P.: àramas'é. people(er)

D.: séyka kò·pene^rá·no ma^i^pá·n kemě·la^pwí·k  
 llimmen^te^wénemen the-others come-together^that-day  
if^I^will kill^pigs five^or^six arí né·k then distribute  
 ná·nmwarrki^mè^pa·n tùwe^te^mó korù·sya^pil^tuwé^te  
 Nahnmwarrki^who^will thus^only^there (points) allest^  
also^thus^only

P.: é oh arí^í... well^it..

D.: tùwepené·te thus-together-only

N.: á· ah tùwepené·te thus-together-only

P.: ì·^wasa^mé... it^place^which...

D.: ì·^me^túwe^te wì·n^pa·n^kó·saŋ^è·u me^péneyney  
 pò·n^e·u^pá·n (mumble) it^which^thus^only gain^will^come-  
from^one which^family^above^of^one^will (m.)

N.: á^iráyl^pa·n but^they^will

P.: é· ah

D.: né·pesèŋ distribute

P.: írayl ìnta^me^tò·tò they say^is^much

D.: éy yes

A.: éy yes penéyney^è·u penéyney^èw^me^tò·^n  
family^on family^one^who^inhabitant^of

D.: éy yes

A.: irayl<sup>me</sup> tunol<sup>à</sup> niki<sup>tó</sup> to they<sup>which</sup>  
(humiliative morpheme) receive<sup>much</sup>

D.: tē<sup>ñ</sup> me<sup>te</sup> kóle<sup>n</sup>.. only<sup>of</sup> which<sup>only</sup> take<sup>shall</sup>..

A.: me<sup>pún</sup> is<sup>right</sup>

D.: pún right

A.: éy yes

D.: me<sup>tó</sup>... are<sup>inha</sup>..

A.: pwe<sup>irayl</sup> me<sup>tó</sup> ña<sup>a</sup> because<sup>they</sup> are<sup>inhabit-</sup>  
ants<sup>of</sup> his

P.: éy mé<sup>lel</sup> yes<sup>truth</sup>

A.: nè<sup>ne</sup> <sup>tó</sup> to is-distributed<sup>much</sup>

P.: (chuckle)

A.: pwe<sup>í</sup> pil tùwe<sup>te</sup> mét because<sup>it</sup> also<sup>thus</sup>  
<sup>only</sup> here

P.: a<sup>a</sup> ah

A.: ari<sup>í</sup> tuwe<sup>n</sup> amwáyl<sup>è</sup> then<sup>it</sup> thus<sup>of</sup> yours  
(pl.) eh?

D.: í<sup>tuwe</sup> n kòsoy<sup>en</sup> pínglap it<sup>thus</sup> of story<sup>of</sup>  
Pingelap

A.: á<sup>ah</sup> í<sup>te</sup> ná<sup>nmwarrki</sup> me<sup>pà</sup> n pwèkipwek<sup>má</sup> s

it only Nahnmwarrki who will be-hanging formerly

D.: só· no sò·tè·lipilipil·só· not-is-difference no

N.: kapà·rekála equalize

D.: ù·ta·n·áy kàmatipw·en·rá·no certainly my feast of that-day

P.: é· ah

D.: gày·me·ú·ta·n ay·tùgol·kàmatip rà·no·ay·pá·n  
ay·pà·pa·kayòw I·who·certainly my·(humiliative morpheme)·  
feast that-day my shall my father first

A.: wéy! not-really!

P.: á· ah á a·b·mwi·pá·pa pa·n·tìpuk·gáy but but your(hon.) father shall return-to I

D.: á· yes káysu (?) seventh(?) a·pà·pa·n·ay  
kó·soŋ(?) kəriyaw but father of my come-from(?) second  
mwòle·a·pa·n·píl·yaŋ(?) his-place but will also be-  
with(?)

A.: éy yes

P.: a· ah

D.: a·p·rira·ko tè·pil·wa·wa·rá·ko tè·kisè·rá·ko  
but their(d.)-brothers or also their(d.)-siblings'-  
children or their(d.)-in-laws

A.: penèyneyo·má·s that-family formerly



D.: á· penéyneyo ah that-family ó·lo·a· ná·nmwarrkiyo  
 à·pwe·yan·pwé·k pwèkipwéki mwirri·n·penéyneyo that-man but  
that-Nahmwarrki but is-with hangs is-hanging after of  
that-family

A.: é·mo(?) his there(?)

D.: ò·mwi·penéyney láwt ma·ù·ta·n·i·láwt your(hon.)  
family large if certainly it large

A.: á· ah pwé·ki ò·mwi·tóto·k because-of your(hon.)  
work

D.: ey yes ....ì·tuwe·n·me·wiyáwi píngelap ....it  
thus of which is done Pingelap

A.: só·ŋ·wet̚ ú·ta·n e·sò·t̚e·kák (chuckle) kàynsenamwáwi  
 pa·n sòwpeytiy·en·pó·npey manner this certainly it not  
can (c.) satisfy will Sowpeytis of Ponape

P.: (laughter)

N.: pò·npey·sò·t̚e pò·npey sò·t̚e·kák·wiyáwi Ponape not  
Ponape not can be-done

P.: (continued laughter) me·a·pà·n·wiyáwi só·ŋ·wet̚  
 ari·ná·nmwarrki·me·pà·n kàt̚itá·to (chuckle) kàt̚ilá·saŋ  
 kámatip that it will be-done manner this well Nahmwarrki  
who will come-up-here(hon.) (c.) go-away-from(hon.) feast

N.: sò·t̚e·kák·wiyáwi not can be-done (general laugh-  
ter, cough)

P.: (chuckle)

N.: ya<sup>ˈ</sup>tùwɛ<sup>ˈ</sup>n<sup>ˈ</sup>ná<sup>ˈ</sup>nken<sup>ˈ</sup>ɛ<sup>ˈ</sup>pà<sup>ˈ</sup>n pwèkipweke<sup>ˈ</sup>mo<sup>ˈ</sup>ˈ<sup>n</sup>  
 ná<sup>ˈ</sup>nmwarrki where<sup>ˈ</sup>thus<sup>ˈ</sup>of<sup>ˈ</sup>Nahnken<sup>ˈ</sup>he<sup>ˈ</sup>will<sup>ˈ</sup>be-hanging<sup>ˈ</sup>  
ahead<sup>ˈ</sup>of<sup>ˈ</sup>Nahnmwarrki

P.: (chuckle)

N.: è<sup>ˈ</sup>u<sup>ˈ</sup>mwákar one<sup>ˈ</sup>anger

D.: ò<sup>ˈ</sup>lɛ<sup>ˈ</sup>pá<sup>ˈ</sup>n kàtítá<sup>ˈ</sup>ʔɛ mwèsɛmwé<sup>ˈ</sup>sɛl the-man<sup>ˈ</sup>will  
just-come(hon.)<sup>ˈ</sup>be-leaving<sup>ˈ</sup>

P.: (chuckle) ù<sup>ˈ</sup>ta<sup>ˈ</sup>n<sup>ˈ</sup>mé<sup>ˈ</sup>lɛl certainly<sup>ˈ</sup>truth

N.: éy yes sò<sup>ˈ</sup>ʔɛ<sup>ˈ</sup>kák not<sup>ˈ</sup>can

P.: sò<sup>ˈ</sup>ʔa kák<sup>ˈ</sup>en mómwo<sup>ˈ</sup>t not<sup>ˈ</sup>can<sup>ˈ</sup>should<sup>ˈ</sup>be-sitting

D.: mómwo<sup>ˈ</sup>t sitting

A.: a<sup>ˈ</sup>mwèyn<sup>ˈ</sup>ɛllɛ<sup>ˈ</sup>ɛ<sup>ˈ</sup>u<sup>ˈ</sup>rá<sup>ˈ</sup>n i<sup>ˈ</sup>só<sup>ˈ</sup>ŋ<sup>ˈ</sup>wɛʔ ɛ<sup>ˈ</sup>pà<sup>ˈ</sup>n<sup>ˈ</sup>wiyáwi  
but<sup>ˈ</sup>maybe<sup>ˈ</sup>perhaps<sup>ˈ</sup>one<sup>ˈ</sup>day<sup>ˈ</sup>it<sup>ˈ</sup>kind<sup>ˈ</sup>this<sup>ˈ</sup>it<sup>ˈ</sup>will<sup>ˈ</sup>be-done

D.: éy yes

N.: píl<sup>ˈ</sup>míyɛ<sup>ˈ</sup>rá<sup>ˈ</sup>n<sup>ˈ</sup>mè kàkɛʔɛ<sup>ˈ</sup>só<sup>ˈ</sup>la kàmatipw<sup>ˈ</sup>en<sup>ˈ</sup>  
 sówpeytí<sup>ˈ</sup>yá ɛ<sup>ˈ</sup> sówpeytíyo kàkɛʔɛ<sup>ˈ</sup>píl ɛ<sup>ˈ</sup> pwàrekító<sup>ˈ</sup>ŋ  
 tú<sup>ˈ</sup>won ɛ<sup>ˈ</sup> òm<sup>ˈ</sup>penéyney also<sup>ˈ</sup>there-is<sup>ˈ</sup>day<sup>ˈ</sup>which<sup>ˈ</sup>can-  
only<sup>ˈ</sup>stop<sup>ˈ</sup>feast<sup>ˈ</sup>of<sup>ˈ</sup>Sowpeyti<sup>ˈ</sup>but<sup>ˈ</sup>(er)<sup>ˈ</sup>that-Sowpeyti  
can-only<sup>ˈ</sup>also<sup>ˈ</sup>(er)<sup>ˈ</sup>appear-here-to-by<sup>ˈ</sup>meet-to<sup>ˈ</sup>(er)  
your(ss.)<sup>ˈ</sup>family

A.: panéyney. éy family<sup>ˈ</sup>yes

P.: e. ah

D.: éy yes

A.: ìrayl<sup>ˆ</sup> túwe<sup>ˆ</sup> n túwe<sup>ˆ</sup> tse<sup>ˆ</sup> pá<sup>ˆ</sup> n penèyney<sup>ˆ</sup> yéw<sup>ˆ</sup> pá<sup>ˆ</sup> n  
wíyapèné á<sup>ˆ</sup> r<sup>ˆ</sup> kamátip they<sup>ˆ</sup> thus<sup>ˆ</sup> of thus<sup>ˆ</sup> only<sup>ˆ</sup> will  
family<sup>ˆ</sup> one<sup>ˆ</sup> will make-together their<sup>ˆ</sup> feast o<sup>ˆ</sup> à<sup>ˆ</sup> re<sup>ˆ</sup>  
pil<sup>ˆ</sup> kápilli(?)<sup>ˆ</sup> n lú<sup>ˆ</sup> kèpèné and<sup>ˆ</sup> but<sup>ˆ</sup> they<sup>ˆ</sup> also<sup>ˆ</sup> near(?)<sup>ˆ</sup>  
of invite-together a<sup>ˆ</sup> pwarekiyèr<sup>ˆ</sup> (indistinct) but has-  
appeared<sup>ˆ</sup> (untranslated) mweyn<sup>ˆ</sup> èlle<sup>ˆ</sup> i<sup>ˆ</sup> sò<sup>ˆ</sup> n<sup>ˆ</sup> mò é<sup>ˆ</sup> pa<sup>ˆ</sup> n  
rék (whispered:) me<sup>ˆ</sup> tó<sup>ˆ</sup> tó<sup>ˆ</sup> (?) maybe perhaps it<sup>ˆ</sup> kind<sup>ˆ</sup>  
there it<sup>ˆ</sup> will be-given is<sup>ˆ</sup> much(?)

D.: éy yes a<sup>ˆ</sup> nan<sup>ˆ</sup> mtiŋ<sup>ˆ</sup> me<sup>ˆ</sup> á<sup>ˆ</sup> p<sup>ˆ</sup> tse<sup>ˆ</sup> n nekíyero  
likámw<sup>ˆ</sup> ete<sup>ˆ</sup> kèpina<sup>ˆ</sup> pil kupuré<sup>ˆ</sup> ta<sup>ˆ</sup> likámw<sup>ˆ</sup> ete<sup>ˆ</sup> káyte<sup>ˆ</sup> n<sup>ˆ</sup>  
pil<sup>ˆ</sup> áramaso but<sup>ˆ</sup> during<sup>ˆ</sup> meeting<sup>ˆ</sup> which<sup>ˆ</sup> but<sup>ˆ</sup> only<sup>ˆ</sup> of  
ended lie<sup>ˆ</sup> only governor<sup>ˆ</sup> also wished<sup>ˆ</sup> lie<sup>ˆ</sup> only not-  
either<sup>ˆ</sup> also<sup>ˆ</sup> that-person likámw<sup>ˆ</sup> ete<sup>ˆ</sup> kis<sup>ˆ</sup> ín<sup>ˆ</sup> likow  
kò<sup>ˆ</sup> pesen<sup>ˆ</sup> nán wéykan lie<sup>ˆ</sup> only<sup>ˆ</sup> bit<sup>ˆ</sup> of<sup>ˆ</sup> cloth went-  
apart<sup>ˆ</sup> in the-districts téne tó<sup>ˆ</sup> n<sup>ˆ</sup> ó<sup>ˆ</sup> piso<sup>ˆ</sup> me kátipe  
ná<sup>ˆ</sup> nmwarrki sówpeytì<sup>ˆ</sup> ka they-say inhabitants<sup>ˆ</sup> of<sup>ˆ</sup>  
that-office<sup>ˆ</sup> who complain Nahnmwarrki the-sowpeytis

P.: éy yes ni<sup>ˆ</sup> kamátip in<sup>ˆ</sup> feasts

D.: ni<sup>ˆ</sup> kamátip in<sup>ˆ</sup> feasts

A.: tó<sup>ˆ</sup> n<sup>ˆ</sup> o<sup>ˆ</sup> pis<sup>ˆ</sup> en<sup>ˆ</sup> wéy inhabitants<sup>ˆ</sup> of<sup>ˆ</sup> office<sup>ˆ</sup>  
of<sup>ˆ</sup> district

D.: é yes tó<sup>ˆ</sup> n<sup>ˆ</sup> o<sup>ˆ</sup> pis<sup>ˆ</sup> en<sup>ˆ</sup> nét<sup>ˆ</sup> inhabitants<sup>ˆ</sup> of<sup>ˆ</sup>

office of Net tó·n·net inhabitants of Net

A.: tó·n·nét·è· inhabitants of Net eh?

D.: ó· tó·ntotò·~~kan~~ me·wiyá·ta sòn·en·katipetip·  
tò·to and the-workers who made kind of complaint many  
ì·me·ká·re·ta ò·l·en·kátip me·kátip it which causes  
man of complaint who complains

P.: á· ah (knocking noise)

D.: mí·tín·me kàyu·mú·mwaw à·p·tè·n·néko meeting  
is first is good but only of ended

A.: éy yes

D.: wíyawiyá·ta kápina is-making governor tèn·é·f·mo  
kùpur·en·kápina they-say it there feeling of governor  
kámatis pa·yú·tè·mè·pa·n wíyawiya pwe·èlle·pó·npey  
saykínte sòntimwáwta·r feasts four only which will  
be-doing because perhaps Ponape not-yet has-become-well  
elle·kámatis pá·yu perhaps feasts four ipwiti birth  
mé·la death ísmas house-warming múrri·n.. after of..

A.: éy yes

D.: mwírri·n·lík after of death-feast ísmas house-  
warming é· (er) ipwiti·kápowt birth marriage

P.: mwírri·n·lík after of death-feast

D.: yét·tùwe·n here! thus of

P.: ísmas house-warming ipwiti birth kápowt wedding

A.: á. ah mé·la só. death no

D.: só. no í·mo it·there

A.: mé·la death

D.: mé·la... death... arí mè·n·ú. wetéykiyon well  
some·of·Uh complained-by-to re·súwetiki re·wetéyon they  
felt-bad-about they·complained-to tène·sápuro·è. they-say  
Saburo·eh?

A.: yá where

D.: è·u·ra·n·me·wiyá·ta sò·n·lámélam one·day·which  
does kind·of·thinking

P.: á. ah

D.: á. paṭopaṭó·wala·ṇ só. but were-saying-to(hum.)  
no ú·ta·n ène·képina certainly should·governor ari·mí·tíṇ  
pa·n·wiyáwi well meeting·will·be-made kèpina·kí·ta ù·ta·n  
á. púronpène governor·gives certainly but set-together-  
again í·me·puréta káyte·n lókaya·to·n·en·mwàrr<sup>(?)</sup> it·which  
comes-back not-either talk·subjects·of·of·title<sup>(?)</sup>

A.: éy yes

D.: me·tà·(?)·ka(indistinct)pene(?) is·what(?)·(un-  
translated) tène nan·amérika·píl kàmatip·míye they-say  
in·America·also feasts·there-are á·p ú·ta·n sò...  
sòwmasekan·mé·kin wiyà·ta·kàmatip ò·ékérki néyrayl  
áramasakan but certainly chie.. chiefs·who·usually  
make·feast and·call-by their people



A.: ey yes

D.: í·tùwe·n kámatip it·thus·of·feasts (cough)  
 tènè·árames·kin pil·pa·n·wiyá·ta kíyon ré·n sówpeyti  
 me·sápuŋ they-say·people·usually·also·will·make·give-to  
at·of·Sowpeytis·is·not-right arí... well..

A.: ú·ta·n t̃iya·k·en·pó·npey·yèw mé árames·t̃íkiŋik·  
 pà·n kámatipwa àrayl·sówpeyti certainly·habit·of·Ponape·  
one·that·people·small·will·give-feast-to·their·Sowpeytis

N.: àrayl·sówpeyti their·Sowpeytis

A.: éy yes á·mo but·there ma·sówpeytí·ka·pil  
 wúkitak if·Sowpeytis·also·change

N.: t̃ípele change(?)

A.: pà·n·pak·é·u nan·é·u·pà·r iráyl·**pil** kámatipwe  
 sapwillim·arayl·áramàs times·times·one·in·one·year·they·  
also·give-feast-to·(honorific·morpheme)·their·people

P.: éy yes áramas people

A.: à·pa·n·pil·káperren·pà·n it·will·also·gay·will

P. (whispered): éy yes

N.: ta·kéy·tepe kiŋáy·kin kí·yoniráyl what·two-  
man-yams·how-many·we(pl.)·usually·give-to-them

A.: éy yes

N.: a·kák·eŋe iráyl·en·wiyá·ta·kámatip me·pil·íŋar  
 on·kiŋáy·tò·n·wéy but·can·only·they·should·make·feast

which also suffices to us(pl.) inhabitants of district

A.: inen en tepéla straight of much-is-left éy  
yes te má iráyl pil kin né k túwe te ná nmwarrkin má sàka  
or if they(pl.) also usually distribute thus only the  
Nahnmwarrkis-of-former-times

N.: e ah

A.: á e pá n pil mwáw but it will also good a arí  
pwe l me ká re ta lipá net but well it what causes to  
grumble mí me pwayntó san a tũgol ké p ní wèy tēykan are  
who buy-from his (humiliative morpheme) yams in other-  
districts i r kò to kamatipkí la lù sila mwá l they  
come give-feast-with lose in-general

N.: éy yes

A.: só te not-is

N.: ma sò te néy pwi k a í men kamatipwèta r  
ná nmwarrkiyà y mé n ta ma ò mwi pwi k emen tà la  
épuki àpe i pil pa n pwaynta if not-is my pig but I  
want-to give-a-feast-to my-Nahnmwarrki is of what  
if your pig one dollars hundred or-the-like I also  
will buy

A.: ey yes

N.: ari í men kasé la mwá l ney mó ni well it  
there throw-away in-general my money

A.: tò tò me pwaynta yen kit pwe ki sànsal amwáw

many^who^paid yen^thousand because^appearance^good

P.: N.: (chuckle)

N.: kàyte·n^sánsal^mèn kámatipw^en nà·nmwarrkiy^  
en^sóke·s not-either^appearance^there feast^of Nahn-  
mwarrki^of^Sokehs

P.: yà·t^wiyáwi^mè when^was-done^here

N.: nán^taytó·wa during^World-War-II

P.: á· (chuckle) ah

N.: sèylokalá·ŋ^net̚ traveled-to^Net ari^á·nsowo  
pwì·k^pway^láwt well^that-time pigs^price^large

P.: éy yes mé·lel truth á·nsowo pwì·k^pwayn^láwt that-  
time pigs^price^large

N.: í·nen^en pway^láwt straight^of price^large í·mí·mí^  
rè·^n nà·nmwarrkiy^en^net̚ I^stayed^at^of^Nahnmwarrki^of^Net  
í·pwaynta^pwì·ko yèn^kít I^bought^that-pig yen^thousand

P.: (laugh)

N.: me^pwì·ŋ^kaláymun was^pis^big

P.: áyya wow!

N.: mwéyn^pa·n kí·lo^tépe maybe^will kilo^how-many  
o·^nèy^seripéyn intá and^my^daughter said

P.: í·me^pwì·k it^is^pig

N.: mé·n·sàpà·n some of Japan á· ahh

A.: í·sò·ŋ·en kámatipw·en wèy·n·néŋ it kind of  
feast of district of Net

N.: ey yes

P.: ey yes

D.: ey yes

P.: ma·kámatipw·en túwe·ŋa ŋóketi te·káŋikiŋikila  
if feasts should thus only be-stopped or become-smaller

D.: é· (hm) kaúŋ púŋela cause-to-be-right becomes-  
right

P.: é· ah ú·ta·n túwe·ŋa áramas·en (cough) píŋ túwe·  
ŋa má í·paŋopáŋo· ní·ay·ŋuŋol·í·mw·a· ná·nmwarrki·te·í·s  
pwáre.. pwáreto a·í·píŋ wáwneki certainly thus only people  
of (c.) also thus only if I am-staying (hum.) in my (humil-  
iative morpheme) house but Nahnmwarrki or who appea.. ap-  
pears but I also honor-by

N.: í·mo it there

P.: pèyn·ŋáy wiyà·ta·tótó·k me·makélekel myself I  
do work which clean

N.: me·makélekel which clean

D.: á· ah

A.: èn·púŋela should become-right

P.: éy yes

A.: ná·nmwarrkiy'en'insén'amwàw á· mwà·l'pil'  
insén'amwàw Nahnmwarrki' should' spirits' good but  
commoner' also' spirits' good

P.: insén'amwàw spirits' good

N.: éy yes sò·ŋ'en'pá·rək'tè·'yèw kind' of' share'  
only' one

P.: a'sò·ŋ'me'kin'wiyáwi kò·to'mé túwe'ta ma'ŋày'  
pwi·k'tá·'man te'sò·ta'ay'tùŋol'pwi·k á'i but' kind'  
which' usually' is-done comes' that thus' only if' I' pig'  
only' one or' not-is' my' (humiliative morpheme)' pig but' I

N.: nanŋl·yon'rapá·ki make-effort' to-find

P.: nanŋl·yon'rapá·ki make-effort' to-find

D.: èy'ó· yes' and

A.: ma'á'pil sò·tə'ay'tùŋol'mó·ni á'i'pil'  
pwèypwantikí·la if' it' also not-is' my' (humiliative morph-  
eme)' money but' I' also' delay-payment

P.: pwèypwantikí·la delay-payment éy yes á·'pil  
píl'ka·ré·ye tòto·k'láwt but' also' also' brings-me work'  
large

N.: e· eh

P.: e· eh

A.: púnnot worry



P.: éy yes

A.: púnnot mè'i metemetéwe i'pwèypwantò.á.  
worry which I am-reflecting I delayed-payment and but

N.: i'pil námeneŋki.yoŋ áramase I also am-ashamed-  
of this-person

A.: éy yes

N.: sò.ŋe'ney'pwí'k it not-is my pig

P.: á. ah

N.: sò.ŋe'ay'képwe'a i'pil'pwaynsáŋ're not-is my  
stuff but I also buy-from at-him

A.: sòwpeytí'ka ma'sò.ŋe'péyn patòketi'só.ŋ'pukat  
mé. Sowpeytis if not themselves plant kinds these that..

N.: káye'n pèyn'pa'n'kupuré.ta pwe'kiŋáyl kùpukupúre  
 píł kátek'ŋ iráyl not-either selves will want-to because  
we are-feeling also friendly to them

A.: ey yes

N.: a.rí'iráyl kupuré.ta well they want-to

A.: éy yes mé.lel true

N.: arí then

A.: kàŋikiŋikiyelá.ŋe only-make-smaller

N.: kàŋikiŋikiyála ó.pil né.kpesen ni'kùpurárayl

pá·rekila make-smaller and also distribute in their-  
minds distribute-evenly

A.: pá·rekila share-evenly éy yes

N.: on áramesèkan to the-people

A.: ey yes

N.: i·lémeleme árames·korú·siye pá·n·múm·wawki·la  
kàmatipweiráyl à·i·lémeleme ro·sà·tè·me·wiyawiya  
sò·n·en·kúpur·en nà·n·pó·npey I am-thinking people allest  
will O.-K. give-feasts-to-them but I am-thinking Rohsa  
only who is-doing kind of mind of in Ponape

P.: miya there-is

N.: mé me·émen kàmatipwe·yá is is one gives-feast  
where

P.: á· ah i·me·ù·m·wiyáwi it which stone-oven is-  
made

N.: e· ah

A.: ari.... well...

P.: ari·pà·rok·tá·yèw likamw·àtá·so·tá·lú·s well  
share only one lie only not-is loss

N.: é· ah

P.: só·tá kàmatip·kàynsensúwet not-is feast unsatis-  
factory

N.: ey yes yèt<sup>ˈ</sup>túwe<sup>ˈ</sup>n è<sup>ˈ</sup>u<sup>ˈ</sup>pa<sup>ˈ</sup>.r<sup>ˈ</sup>kó<sup>ˈ</sup>.to<sup>ˈ</sup>ki<sup>ˈ</sup>ta<sup>ˈ</sup>.ŋ  
 mwòrrromworrò<sup>ˈ</sup>ŋki<sup>ˈ</sup>kámatipwe heré!<sup>ˈ</sup>thus<sup>ˈ</sup>of<sup>ˈ</sup>one<sup>ˈ</sup>year<sup>ˈ</sup>came<sup>ˈ</sup>we  
gossiped-about<sup>ˈ</sup>feasting arí<sup>ˈ</sup>á<sup>ˈ</sup>.nsowèt<sup>ˈ</sup>èn mà<sup>ˈ</sup>.so<sup>ˈ</sup>ki<sup>ˈ</sup>ta<sup>ˈ</sup>.ŋ  
 sò<sup>ˈ</sup>.tè<sup>ˈ</sup>no<sup>ˈ</sup>.n<sup>ˈ</sup>mwáwki kámatip well<sup>ˈ</sup>this-time<sup>ˈ</sup>of<sup>ˈ</sup>that-former<sup>ˈ</sup>  
we not<sup>ˈ</sup>overly<sup>ˈ</sup>like<sup>ˈ</sup>feasts a<sup>ˈ</sup>insen<sup>ˈ</sup>en<sup>ˈ</sup>árames<sup>ˈ</sup>en mīya<sup>ˈ</sup>  
 á<sup>ˈ</sup>.nsowèt<sup>ˈ</sup>árames<sup>ˈ</sup>kó<sup>ˈ</sup>.ros kápwaré<sup>ˈ</sup>.ta insénarayl but<sup>ˈ</sup>wish<sup>ˈ</sup>  
of<sup>ˈ</sup>people<sup>ˈ</sup>should there-be<sup>ˈ</sup>this-time people<sup>ˈ</sup>all make-  
appear their-wishes

A.: éy yes ó<sup>ˈ</sup>.pil kámatipw<sup>ˈ</sup>en<sup>ˈ</sup>a<sup>ˈ</sup>.nsówèt<sup>ˈ</sup> me<sup>ˈ</sup>pīl<sup>ˈ</sup>  
 kapérrensən mó and<sup>ˈ</sup>also<sup>ˈ</sup>feasts<sup>ˈ</sup>of<sup>ˈ</sup>this-time<sup>ˈ</sup>are<sup>ˈ</sup>also<sup>ˈ</sup>  
gayer-than that

N.: mè<sup>ˈ</sup>kapérren is<sup>ˈ</sup>gay ey yes pwé<sup>ˈ</sup>y<sup>ˈ</sup>.pil í<sup>ˈ</sup>kàkètè<sup>ˈ</sup>  
 kó<sup>ˈ</sup>.wey to<sup>ˈ</sup>.rè<sup>ˈ</sup>.ta<sup>ˈ</sup>nèy<sup>ˈ</sup>ew<sup>ˈ</sup>kéy because<sup>ˈ</sup>I<sup>ˈ</sup>also<sup>ˈ</sup>I<sup>ˈ</sup>can-only<sup>ˈ</sup>  
go-there touch<sup>ˈ</sup>my<sup>ˈ</sup>one<sup>ˈ</sup>two-man-yam

A.: éy yes

P.: ey yes á<sup>ˈ</sup>.nsowèt<sup>ˈ</sup> làmelame<sup>ˈ</sup>kámatip ré<sup>ˈ</sup>.n ákey  
 solá<sup>ˈ</sup>.r mīya<sup>ˈ</sup>pwé<sup>ˈ</sup>.ki làmalamá<sup>ˈ</sup>.yer tá<sup>ˈ</sup>.me í<sup>ˈ</sup>pa<sup>ˈ</sup>.n<sup>ˈ</sup>wīya  
 pwé<sup>ˈ</sup>y<sup>ˈ</sup>en tùwe<sup>ˈ</sup>ta<sup>ˈ</sup>pwáyta this-time am-thinking<sup>ˈ</sup>feasts  
at<sup>ˈ</sup>of some have-stopped to-be-there<sup>ˈ</sup>because I-have-been-  
thinking what<sup>ˈ</sup>is I<sup>ˈ</sup>shall<sup>ˈ</sup>do because<sup>ˈ</sup>I<sup>ˈ</sup>should thus<sup>ˈ</sup>only<sup>ˈ</sup>  
succeed

A.: pwáyta succeed

N.: éy yes í<sup>ˈ</sup>.mo í<sup>ˈ</sup>.there

P.: ày<sup>ˈ</sup>penéyney insenamwáwla my<sup>ˈ</sup>family became-satisfied

N.: insenamwáwla became-satisfied

A.: kom<sup>^</sup>mwá<sup>^</sup>ni<sup>^</sup>àramas me<sup>^</sup>tíyarèr<sup>^</sup>ε<sup>^</sup> písniis you(hon.)<sup>^</sup>  
know(hon.)<sup>^</sup>people who<sup>^</sup>has-found<sup>^</sup>his business

D.: ε<sup>^</sup> eh

A.: ìrayl<sup>^</sup>só<sup>^</sup>la<sup>^</sup>·tè kámatip they<sup>^</sup>stop-only feast

D.: ey yes

A.: pwe<sup>^</sup>aràyl<sup>^</sup>tóto<sup>^</sup>·k ó<sup>^</sup>ts because<sup>^</sup>their<sup>^</sup>work (untrans-  
 lated)<sup>^</sup>only i<sup>^</sup>·sò<sup>^</sup>·η<sup>^</sup>wet<sup>^</sup>·má è<sup>^</sup>·pil<sup>^</sup>·tò<sup>^</sup>·tò<sup>^</sup>·la me<sup>^</sup>·lèmeleme<sup>^</sup>·són<sup>^</sup>  
 wet<sup>^</sup> it<sup>^</sup>kind<sup>^</sup>this<sup>^</sup>if it<sup>^</sup>also<sup>^</sup>increases who<sup>^</sup>are-thinking<sup>^</sup>  
 kind<sup>^</sup>this

P.: mé<sup>^</sup>·lèl truth

A.: mè<sup>^</sup>·n<sup>^</sup>·pó<sup>^</sup>·npey<sup>^</sup>·pa<sup>^</sup>·n mwátan some<sup>^</sup>of<sup>^</sup>Ponape<sup>^</sup>will  
 fast

N.: ey yes

P.: ma<sup>^</sup>·àramas<sup>^</sup>·kóros nan<sup>^</sup>tíyon tùwe<sup>^</sup>·ta<sup>^</sup>·rápa<sup>^</sup>·ki tùwe<sup>^</sup>·ta<sup>^</sup>  
 márayn<sup>^</sup>·en nan<sup>^</sup>·wáy if<sup>^</sup>people<sup>^</sup>all make-effort thus<sup>^</sup>only<sup>^</sup>to-  
 seek thus<sup>^</sup>only<sup>^</sup>light<sup>^</sup>of in<sup>^</sup>abroad

N.: ε<sup>^</sup> ah

P.: élle i<sup>^</sup>·me<sup>^</sup>·mwáwki kámatipwe<sup>^</sup>·ma<sup>^</sup>·ré<sup>^</sup>·pa<sup>^</sup>·n tùwe<sup>^</sup>·ta<sup>^</sup>  
 pówla<sup>^</sup>·pa<sup>^</sup>·n perhaps he<sup>^</sup>who<sup>^</sup>likes give-feasts<sup>^</sup>if<sup>^</sup>they<sup>^</sup>will  
 thus<sup>^</sup>only<sup>^</sup>pass-away<sup>^</sup>will

N.: ε<sup>^</sup>·pà<sup>^</sup>·n<sup>^</sup>·ts<sup>^</sup>·púgarayl it<sup>^</sup>will(?)<sup>^</sup>only<sup>^</sup>their-ranks<sup>^</sup>

P.: kàmati<sup>ˈ</sup>pa·n<sup>ˈ</sup>ko·kó·la feasts<sup>ˈ</sup>will<sup>ˈ</sup>go-there

A.: élle é·u<sup>ˈ</sup>ra·n<sup>ˈ</sup>è<sup>ˈ</sup>pa·n mwáwla perhaps one<sup>ˈ</sup>day<sup>ˈ</sup>it<sup>ˈ</sup>  
will<sup>ˈ</sup>become-good

N.: í·<sup>ˈ</sup>mo it<sup>ˈ</sup>there...

P.: kiṭáyí<sup>ˈ</sup>pa·n we<sup>ˈ</sup>shall

N.: pà·n<sup>ˈ</sup>yáṇala will<sup>ˈ</sup>be-with

P.: éy yes



Free Translation

- A: What's the situation in Kiti district with regard to feasts these days?
- P: You want to know how, er, feasts are in Kiti district at this time?
- A: Yes.
- P: The feasts in Kiti district these days are, er, really O.K.
- A: Yes?
- P: Yes. You know how, er, formerly, er, so to speak, when a feast was being made then the people who would, er, so to speak, make the feast.
- A: Yes.
- P: Would not, so to speak, give back a slice of yam or something, eh.
- A: Yes.
- P: There that's how it was formerly.
- A: Yes.
- P: But now probably it has improved because the Sowpeytis, that is Nahnpey and the like, don't, so to speak, er, ask people either to give feasts for them as was the habit of old.
- A: Yes. P: And people like to give feasts to Nahnpey because that's the way they like it...er...If you are going to give a feast to Nahnpey and you're going to go to invite him and you will come back you will prepare yo..your feast. Nahnpey however will figure out who will be the one to give out your feast goods.
- P: Yes, that's it. Then Nahnpey will come to the feast, but, so to speak, give me your feast; then all the yams.....
- A: You will receive them.
- P: Yes, I'll receive the yams, and the breadfruit will, so to speak, be lifted off (offerings are hung up in the feast house), about three or five of them of the konot offering and he certainly will give back two or three of them.
- A: The father will have konot.
- P: Yes, he will have two or three of our konots.
- P: Well, this is.....this is what people, so to speak, like now, because it seems there is no less involved in feasts. That's how feasts are

in Kiti district at this time.

A: Net district...I don't understand the Net situation because I don't take part in feasts.

P: Eh.

A: This is what I do know having heard this from the people here. They have stopped liking them and enjoying them because it isn't like the feasts of old now, not really for the pleasure of people any more.

P: Eh.

A: The stalk (of yam) that one has dug up....

P: Hm.

A: They say they are ordered only title stalks, only those stalks of yam is what they should dig up.

P: Lots of yams?

A: Lots. Lots of kava and lots of pigs.

P: Hm.

A: And one more thing. At the feasts in the time of other Nahnmwarrkis all the people could still get hold of their own bit of yam.

P: Eh

A: But now they say all the yams have to be hung up (as offerings) but will be distributed later; well, distributed to whom, because they all...

P: Yes, have been dispersed (i.e. they have disappeared among the families of the high chiefs)

A: Hm.

A: And therefore there are many who talk, because they dug out yams and there is nothing that came back to them.

P: Well, then they weren't distributed since people are dissatisfied.

A: Oh yes, or if they were distributed just among them.

P: Yes, just among them, the ones they liked to give it to.

A: Yes.

P: So that's where, so to speak, the dissatisfaction with it comes from.

A: Yes.

P: That's how, so to speak, there's also a great loss involved in it, eh?

A: Yes, perhaps feasts formerly, in the days of the other Nahnkens were also better.

P: Oh

A: And in the days of the other Nahnmwarrkis. Because this is how it was done. Well, when the Nahnmwarrki's konot was hung up, one or two of the biggest yams....

P: Ah

A: Also the same for the Nahnken and the smaller titles would take along one, and the rest of them would all be distributed to them,

P: The people.

A: Yes. And there would also be some who would misbehave and would also be able to make a run on them.

P: Make a run, eh.... (chuckle)

A: Well, that sort of thing the Sowpeytis would have no use for either. And these days one can't even get a little piece.....

P: Ah

A: piece of yam.

P: Hm. Not Kiti.

A: Yes.

P: Here, if anyone thinks of starting a run then the people who should, so to speak, distribute the yams, they will shout, "Don't you do it; don't you do it."

A: Yes, that's how they would, so to speak...yes....

P: destroy the konots.

A: Yes

P: Then people will make an effort, but the Sowpeytis perhaps they will still be dissatis.....angry about that.

A: Yes.

P: You can't do it

A: But it still certainly is people's habit.

P: Yes... (chuckle, chuckle)

A: And one more thing. Formerly, in the days of the other Nahnmwarrkis and Nahnkens there would be no doubt be people who could give money and ask for their yams.... (i.e. buy yams for the feast, instead of digging them up)

P: Oh

A: Yes

P: from the Nahnmwarrki

A: from the Nahnmwarrki or Nahnken. Well, the Nahnmwarrki might, perhaps, not feel like it either, but would have to give it to him because....

P: Yes

A: it's that man's request.

P: Yes, yes

A: And now...

P: it isn't done anymore.

A: It isn't done any more; it can't be done.

P: Hm...well, that way of doing it is no good either.

A: Yes

P: That...that way of doing it is the reason why, so to speak, feasts... so to speak, some people, people, or some districts say that, that it's bad.

A: It's bad.

P: Isn't it the truth though. The kind of feasts that are being made here which, so to speak, aren't.....

A: aren't done in Kiti district.

P: Eh.

A: That's good.

P: And if, so to speak, one digs up yams and kills pigs and doesn't get one's return offering....

A: Yes

P: That's when it's bad

A: Well, they also talk a lot about how they have to buy their yams from other districts

P: Ah

A: They would also plant and then they would give a feast to the Nahmmwarrki or Nahnken, but...

P: Eh

A: There's nothing that...

P: There isn't

A: there is nothing that goes back to them, and also, as the other years...

P: Yes

A: in all the years

P: Yes

A: well, they stopped liking it too much

P: Yes.

A: At a feast during the war they put together all the yams...

P: Hm

A: the family (the Nahmmwarrki's and Nahnken's), but they said the yams would not be distributed because they would make a feast that would be a feast of all of Net district



P: Hm

A: Then I heard everybody was very happy. All the time till this day it hasn't come off.

P: (laughter) You know, er, when I came back the other week...

A: Yes, because I left on Friday; lo, on the day after a Saturday there comes Nahnpey up to Mahnt (name of section), the Sahum Salapuk is inviting people...

A: Yes

P: and the Ay will come, too, to invite me. Now I wasn't too eager to come along because I didn't, I didn't feel too much like going, because I had just recently come back there from Colony, Colony here, in order to finish some work of mine. But I went along with him. Well, we went up to the Sahum Salapuk's place; we had just come up there and the Sahum had a lot of pot dishes made ready, chickens...

A: Yes

P: He had killed lots of chickens and we ate konot and the Sahum kindled the stone oven. Then after a while they made kava, the stone oven was filled, and emptied. Well, the yams were big, too, and I had my share of it.

A: Yes

P: Yes

A: So that feast was coming to you.

P: Well, then I received (my offerings) to distribute to the people of my section

A: Yes

P: Now we will return the feast

A: Yes, then it's all right

P: Yes

A: Because there is nobody who will be dissatisfied, either. And I will not return, because I also received yams

P: Yes, true. And that's how it's being done in Kiti now.

A: Yes.

P: Many feasts have been made from days past to the other day where, so to speak, you would kindle an oven for a stone-oven feast for the Rohsa (one of Nahnpey's titles). And the Rohsa would, as it were, receive it and give it to someone and the other fellow would again make a return and so give back to you your yams.

A: Yes.

P: And it seems there isn't any loss involved

A: Yes, there isn't any loss. That's really good. And is that the way it's being done over there?

P: (laughter) Oh well.

A: Isn't it the truth. I just heard, this is what I heard the other day, something like this.

P: Ah, and it's unsatisfactory

A: Yes, really unsatisfactory

P: Eh.

A: And there is another bad thing.

P: Yes.

A: It hasn't come up yet.

P: Ah.

A: When, I won't know either.

P: Ah.

A: Because I don't take part in feasts.

P: Yes, that's it.

A: And those who really do take part in feasts certainly do grumble.  
And another thing that the Net people talk a lot about is their  
district labour three days a month.

P: Yes.

A: Yes, and they also gi...give taxes, they have to pay land taxes and  
taxes on their cocoanut trees, or no, there isn't any tax yet on  
cocoanut trees.

P: Yes.

A: They say that'll be next. And they also have to give honor feasts  
and that's not the way they like it, because they only give title  
stalks.

P: Yes.

A: And maybe it's right, too.

P: The Nahnmwa....

A: The Nahnmwarrki of Net, er, has it done this way because the high  
titles, they should receive the large stuff...

P: Yes.

A: because they'll also bring large stuff and.....

P: Yes.

A: And the low titles will bring small stuff....

P: Small stuff...

A: they'll also get small stuff.

P: Yes. And here's where the yams probably don't get to be...

A: Don't get to be distributed

P: distributed.

A: Yes. I don't think now though. This time there will be a few feasts made which may-be will be a little different because there seems to be a little fear.

P: Yes, there certainly should be a little.

A: Yes, only one more thing. I don't think feasts will leave Ponape because when feasts stop people will stop growing yams.

P: Ah!

A: Do you think that's true?

P: I don't think so.

A: Yeh

P: What would be the reason that they should stop growing yams since yams are our most important livelihood here on Ponape,.....

A: Yes

P: and if I stop growing my yam, I'll starve. Maybe the kind of people whose life it is, so to speak, to go to feasts, er, make feasts out to be very important, eh? Because when feasts stop, I thi....they will, they I think, they will stop growing.....

A: growing yams.

P: Yes

A: That's something, because what good are yams to them....

P: Yes

A: since they grow yams because they are feast-fiends.

P: They are feast-fiends.

A: Yes

P: I don't like to take part in feasts either, myself. So, when Nahnpey comes to me, deigns to come to me, I still will make a feast because of, so to speak, the clan, I'll honor....

A: Yes

P: the Sowpeyti

A: Yes. That's one more thing. Certainly honor feasts, honor feasts certainly should be given by people to...

P: Yes.

A: their Nahnmwarrki. And there are many who talk a lot about honor feasts.

P: Yes

A: Some feel that honor feasts certainly should be given.

P: Certainly should be given

A: Well, er, the Sowpeyti certainly won't be the ones to give me the stalk that I'll have dug up.

P: Ah

A: Yes

P: So to speak, my wish.

A: My wish. One more thing that I thought of as bad with, with, so to speak, this worsening of the feasts. It has retarded the Ponape people....

P: Yes

A: because the thinking of the Ponape people has really rooted itself in feasts.

P: (Chuckle) That's true. You know, the kind of person, who, so to speak, doesn't think what he should do right, eh?

A: Yes

P: That, so to speak, Ponape should rise to the light (of civilization), eh, the feasts cannot advance the kind of people who are not enlightened, since there are people who think only of feasts, feasts, feasts,

A: Yes

P: And they don't think of what causes people to be satisfied or....

\*\*\*\*\*



## (Second Spool)

- P: Here is what else I think of feasts and why some people are dissatisfied about them. You know, I have two brothers who are guests at all the feasts.
- A: Yes
- P: Yes, and they, so to speak, plant yams and also plant kava, but they don't plant much....
- A: Yes
- P: because there, they like feasts, feasts, but at the time of the feast they can't dig up a lot of yams either.
- A: Yes.
- P: Well, this is the kind of person for whom, so to speak, feasts are bad because, so to speak, they cannot, so to speak, have their own thoughts.
- A: Yes.
- P: And this is the kind of people for whom feasts (chuckle) are no good; but people who, so to speak, have thoughts of their own for them it's good to take part in feasts because they can distribute and take part in the feast work and.....
- A: Yes
- P: Here is certainly....
- A: Yes
- P: the work of.....
- A: distributing.
- P: (chuckle)
- A: I think about feasts because, so to speak, the other islands, they have gotten so much further than Ponape
- P: You don't say!
- A: Yes, in matters of wisdom.
- P: Yes
- A: But Ponape has really become rooted in feasts because the only thing Ponapeans ever think about is feasts, feasts, feasts; this is their only occupation, they have feasting in their heads. There are many who (cough), er, have gone to school....

P: Ah

A: Yes, well we go to school, finish it, well, they certainly go to a real.....

P: Ah

A: Ponape of feasts (cough). Well, it's definitely a shame that Ponape didn't grow.

P: Grow, true.

A: It has grown backwards, sir.

P: Yes.

A: Thus I think there are people who don't put feasts first too much.

P: Yes

A: They who do a little thinking

P: Yes, a little thinking. You are right; that's what I think. Feasts are bad for people who don't think.

(Enter Dan)

PLG: Well,

P: (chuckle) So, you weren't along at that feast that was made in Kiti?

D: No.

P: The flag feast (an American flag was presented to the district), at which the doctor (Dr. Gleysteen, chief surgeon of the Navy Hospital in Colony) was present.

D: No, I wasn't along because at the time I was busy, I was....

P: Ah, you were with the professor

D: Yes

P: That feast, if the Lord will, the Sowpeytis of Kiti district, they say that since olden times there hasn't been one like it.

A: Yes.

D: Yes.

A: I heard of it, too, because they say that one man alone did, er, bring four or five pigs.

P: Yes.

A: And people trampled on the food (i.e. there was so much of it).

P: Yes. The other day I appeared in the Kiti district office and I was there because the feast was given there, in that place.

A: Yes.

P: Sugar cane is left till today, so much was broken.

A: Yes, P: Then that feast seems to have been big - not seems to have been, was big, but it seems there weren't any dissatisfied people, because all the people, so to speak, were happy, because it was a flag feast.

A: flag feast.

P: And I think if the Sowpeytis' part to the people is made smaller by the Sowpeyti, there is no pleasure.

A: Yes.

P: Or if it is done and there aren't only big ones there

D: Only big ones there

A: It'll be small

P: It'll be small

A: Yes.

P: Yes.

A: It will be small, it won't be too gay.....

P: Well, I also saw the movement of people that day. This, some people, who, so to speak, think that peo....that their people, so to speak, have been enlightened by the effect of the light of this ~~country~~ world...

A: Yes.

P: it seems they, too, that day, they, too, looked like (chuckle)...

A: Yes (chuckle)

P: dark (i.e. unenlightened) people.

A: Yes.

P: (chuckle) Well, this is how, so to speak, the abolition of feasts for us is, so to speak....

A: Yes, because I think it's really low.

D: Yes.

A: Yes.

P: This is what will happen if feasts....

A: Yes.

P: so to speak, will stop. Ponape will indeed fare well. I think all the people, or all men, will be able to lift up their thoughts.

A: Yes, this is what, so to speak, I think, too.

P: (chuckle).

D: You know this, the outislanders, it seems they are today further ahead than...

A: Yes, yes.

D: the Ponapeans.

A: Further ahead than the Ponapeans.

P: Yes.

A: The Ponapeans have become rooted in feasting.

D: Eh, how was that?

A: Under the Spaniards, in German times, in Japanese times, till American times, Ponape is the same.

D: The same.

A: Yes. If they shall move forward the least little bit...

D: Yes.

P: Yes. Maybe one day feasting will diminish or stop. I think in this manner: the generation of, generation of Sowpeytis which, so to speak, is here now, if they die, who are in Kiti district, which.....

A: Yes

P: I think feasting will just about stop.

A: It will become smaller, maybe it also will remain the same, because.....

P: Yes.

A: it will also be right...

P: will be right, yes. And maybe at that time, so to speak, the thinking of people will, so to speak, rise above the thinking of Ponape.

A: Yes. The Ponapeans don't care for money, they don't care for schools, they don't care to look for other kinds of work, because this is only it:

P: Yes.

A: just plant yams, plant kava, because it's for the feast.

P: Feed a big pig

A: Yes.

P: Because it's for the feast.

A: Plant a big kava plant,

P: (chuckle)

A: plant a big yam, this is the only occu...occupation of the Ponapeans. Maybe later it will, the feasts will straighten themselves out.

P: Yes.

A: Because if only the kind of feast is made that is, so to speak, for yams,

P: Yes.

A: or a family feast,

P: Yes.

A: Yes.

P: I hope that, too, will stop one day.

A: Yes. It seems to me I just heard something that after a few years it will be a little, a little...

P: Yes, certainly it will go down.

A: Yes.

P: When, so to speak, all the people have found the light or have wise.. wisened, they will be able to find ou....find that feasts cannot be.

A: Yes.



P: Well, maybe one day we shall be in a position where, maybe, if we shall live, maybe we shall, er, know what comes after the feasts.

A: Yes.

(Enter Nallaym of Net)

PLG: Well, hello Nallaym.

N: Hello (chuckle)

PLG: What did you.....

N: Hello.

A: Hello, sir.

P: Here we are talking about feasts and what we think of them, Nallaym.

N: Hm.

P: This is what we think of the movement of the times on Ponape.

N: Hm.

P: On Ponape, so to speak, feasts are also...there are many people who say...

N: Yes.

P: Also...

D: I also heard...

P: In this district there are some who, so to speak, talk about feasts. This is what we think, what I think about this thing here. In Kiti district, er, feasts are also given....

N: Yes.

P: but out of people's desire...

N: Yes.

P: not because of the Sowpeytis.

N: Yes.

P: Well, the one that was thus done at this time where people were at the feast place of Nahnpey's, and he would come and give for one...

N: Yes.

P: a feast.

N: Yes.

P: And the man, however, thus,

N: Does....

P: does thus give it back to him, so to speak, returns to the other man..

N: Yes.

P: his feast.

N: Yes.

P: And that's what is being done now, but we, however, think...and till we Ponapeans reach...because, so to speak, this is how we Ponapeans fail to grow in these things. All Ponape people, all men, also boys, who like to give feasts, have only that on their minds.

N: Yes.

P: I'll grow yams because, because they're for the feast, or raise a stalk of kava, or will feed that pig so it should be big (chuckle)...

N: Yes.

P: And that's it. I think, what is it that we, er, keep doing over again.

N: Yes.

P: Do over again.

N: Yes. There is no other way.

P: Yes.

A: They are not money-conscious,

N: Yes.

A: because they're feast-conscious.

N: Feast-conscious.

P: (chuckle) And if this is the way it is, we should search our minds so we shouldn't stay the same.

N: Yes.

P: Now, in American times, if we, er, decide to search our minds, because they are really giving us, so to speak, good teachings, or good habits, or good enlightenment.

A: Yes.

N: That's it.

A: Yes.

P: Isn't it, though.

A: Yes. That's how I would like it, if I could, in.....

P: (chuckle)

N: The others.

A: Should leave feasting...

N: Yes.

A: so we should...

N: should change away from this....

P: Yes.

A: Yes.

N: change the looks of the feasts?

A: Yes, the looks of feasting.

N: Then people will really be weakened in their satisfaction....

D: That's what I think, too.

N: Well, they....the Sowpeyti who can change the looks of feasting, eh?  
they will also find satisfaction then...

P: Yes.

A: Yes.

N: Because there is a good way if I shall make a feast.

P: Ah.

A: Eh.

N: You give a feast for me and I receive it and give it to another man, and  
the other man...

A: Yes.

N: so to speak, so to speak, because I think to receive and to give it to  
you, there can't be any loss.

A: Yes.

P: Yes.

N: There is no loss.

A: Yes.

P: Yes.

A: And, so to speak, to give feasts to the Sowpeyti, too, but they give only themselves.

P: That way....

A: That way....

N: That's the way....

P: That way....

N: Because that's the reason why they....

A: Talk so much.

N: talk so much.

A: Grumble.

N: Grumble.

A: Yes.

N: How is it that they get hold of a big pig....

P: (chuckle)

N: get many yams...

P: (laughter)

N: eat all that's big...

P: (laughter)

A: Yes.

N: but they can distribute among the people so that there are who can eat only this much (shows with finger).

A: Yes, and there are who get none at all.

N: They just have to eat from their pots (i.e. they receive no feast food).

P: Yes.

A: Yes. I just thought of the promise made during the last war.

P: Yes.

A: That all the yams were brought in to be distributed. Er, the yams would not be distributed because, er, there would be a feast of all of Net district.

P: Yes.

A: Everybody was very happy, they were waiting, and up to this day, that's about three or four years, so to speak....

N: There hasn't been any.

P:A: (Laugh)

A: I won't go to pieces too much, either, if feasts will stop being made, because I don't have too much use for them, anyway.

P: Yes.

N: Yes.

A: And I'm not often along, either.

P: Yes.

N: And there are, there are who gain by feasts and there are some who really take a good loss.

A: Yes. The commoner wastes his life on them....

N: Life on them.

A: The commoner wastes his time on them.

N: Time.

A: Yes.

D: Feasts should just go on being made, but, it seems, only if the Sowpeytis first give feasts for their people.

A: Yes. That will be, too, if there will be a time when the Sowpeytis will...

D: Yes.



- A: give feasts to their people, that will be good, too.
- N: Yes.
- D: Yes.
- N: The Ngatik people have feasts and there can't be any feasts that people feel badly about.
- D: Eh.
- A: Yes. Here's a first-rate setup.
- P: (chuckle)
- D: And they have only commoners.
- N: Yes.
- A: Yes.
- D: There are no Sowpeytis, right?
- N: When the Sowpeytis receive, it's also a satisfactory way.
- P: How about you, Pingelap people, aren't there feasts there?
- D: The Pingelap people do give feasts.
- P: Ah.
- D: When I shall give my feast one day, we also want to invite the Sowpeytis, then all will come that day.
- P: Hm.
- D: Or also, er, er, people.
- P: People, eh?
- D: The others will come together that day when I kill about five or six pigs, then it will be distributed. The Nahnmwarrki will get about this much, and everybody else about the same.
- P: Eh! So that....
- D: The same.
- N: Ah, the same.
- P: That's the place where....
- D: That's how a gain comes of it that one family after another will...  
(mumble)

N: And they will....

P: Eh.

D: distribute

P: They say it's much.

D: Yes.

A: Yes. A family, a family that is inhabitant of (the place).....

D: Yes.

A: They will receive a lot.

D: They should just take....

A: That's the right way.

D: Right

A: Yes.

D: They are inha....

A: Because they are inhabitants of....

P: Yes, true.

A: and much is distributed.

P: (chuckle).

A: Because that's how it is like that.

P: Ah.

A: Well, that's the way you have it, eh?

D: That's the situation on Pingelap.

A: Ah, that's how the Nahmwarrki is the one to hang up (his offerings) first.

D: No. There's no difference. No.

N: It's evenly divided.

D: During my feast that day.....

P: Eh.

D: I would certainly be, at my feast that day, I would be, my father would be, first.

A: Not really!

P: Ah! And your father would make a return (tipuk) to me?

D: Yes, the seventh (?). And my father would come second from his place, and he'll also be along (?).

A: Yes.

P: Ah.

D: But their siblings and their nephews and nieces, or their inlaws...

A: The family first.

D: Ah, the family. That man, and the Nahnmwarki will also hang up theirs, but they'll do it after the family.

A: Is that how it is?

D: You have a large family, if it is real large....

A: Ah, because it's your work.

D: Yes....That's how it's done on Pingelap.

A: That method certainly couldn't (chuckle) satisfy the Sowpeyti of Ponape.

P: (Laughter)

N: On Ponape it can't, on Ponape it can't be done.

P: (Laughter continued) If it's ever done that way, then the Nahnmwarki will just come along (chuckle) and leave right away from the feast.

N: It can't be done. (General laughter; cough)

P: (Chuckle)

N: How will the Nahnken hang up before the Nahnmwarki...

P: (chuckle)

N: An unpleasant situation.

D: The man will hardly have come and leave again.

P: (Chuckle) Certainly true.

N: That's right, he can't.

P: He can't take his seat.

D: His seat.

A: And may be one day that's the way it will be done.

D: Yes.

N: And there may come the day when the Sowpeytis' feasts can just stop, and, er, the Sowpeytis can just, er, come along and meet, er, your family.

P: Family, yes. P: Ah.

D: Yes.

A: They thus, so to speak, will, a family will make their feast together and call together people and they'll come. Maybe this way they will be given (whispered) much.

D: Yes. And at the meeting which was recently concluded, it seems the Governor, so to speak, thought....The people didn't either,...so to speak, a letter went around in the districts. They say the people who work in the office complained about the Nahnmwarrki and the Sowpeytis.

P: Yes, about the feasts.

D: About the feasts.

A: The people of the district office.

D: Yes, the people of Net district office. The Net people.

A: The Net people, eh?

D: And the workmen had many kinds of complaints. This is what the complainants complained about...

P: Ah.

D: The meeting was first rate, it was just recently concluded.

A: Yes.

D: The Governor called it. They say this is what the Governor wants: only four feasts will be made, because Ponape has not yet fully recovered. Maybe four feasts: birth, death, house-warming, after-death...

A: Yes.

D: after-death feast, house-warming, er, birth, wedding.

- P: After-death feast.
- D: That's it.
- P: House-warming, birth, wedding.
- A: Ah, not death.
- D: No, that's it.
- A: Death.
- D: Death....Well, the Uh people told him much about how badly they felt, they told him, about Saburo (a native work overseer), eh?
- A: What?
- D: One day someone had a kind of an idea.
- P: Ah!
- D: And they told him no, certainly it was the Governor's business. Well, a writing would be made, the Governor would give it, certainly they would get together again. What came back out of it was not the talk of the titled people.
- A: Yes.
- D: Well, they said that in America there are feasts, too, but it is certainly the chie....chiefs who make them and call their people...~~people~~
- A: Yes.
- D: That's how it is with feasts. (Cough) They say when people are making the feasts for the Sowpeytis it's not right then.
- A: It certainly is a Ponapean custom that the small people should give feasts to their Sowpeyti.
- N: Their Sowpeyti.
- A: Yes. And there: if the Sowpeytis, too, would change....
- N: Yes.
- A: then once a year they would also give a feast for their people.
- P: Yes, for their people.
- A: And it would make people happy.
- P: (whispered) Yes.



- N: How many two-man yams haven't we given them!
- A: Yes.
- N: But can they really give a feast that would suffice for us, the people of the district?
- A: There is plenty left, yes. Or if they just could distribute like the Nahnmwarrki of old.
- N: Ah.
- A: Yes, that, too, would be all right. Well, because this is the reason for grumbling that people buy their yams in other districts and come to make a feast with them, and usually lose on it.
- N: Yes.
- A: There isn't.....
- N: If I don't have a pig and I want to give a feast to my Nahnmwarrki, who cares if your one pig is a hundred dollars or so, I'll still buy it.
- A: Yes.
- N: Well, this is generally how I waste my money.
- A: There are many who spent a thousand Yen because it looked good.
- N: That's not looks, that's the feast of the Nahnmwarrki of Sokehs.
- P: When was that given?
- N: During the war.
- P: Ah (chuckle)
- N: He travelled to Net. Well, at that time pigs were expensive.
- P: Yes, that's true, at that time pigs were expensive.
- N: Really expensive. I stayed with the Nahnmwarrki of Net. I bought a pig for a thousand Yen.
- P: (Laugh)
- N: It was a large pig.
- P: Wow!
- N: How many kilos could it have been, and my daughter said:
- P: There's a pig for you!

- N: The Japanese ah'd.
- A: That's how the Net district feast was.
- N: Yes.
- P: Yes.
- D: Yes.
- P: If feasts are to be stopped or made smaller.....
- D: Hm, correct, right.
- P: er, certainly, so to speak, people should (cough) also, so to speak... if I am staying in my house and the Nahnmwarrki or someone else app... appears, then I'll pay him my respect right there.
- N: That's it.
- P: I myself. By doing work that's clean.
- N: That's clean.
- D: Ah!
- A: It should be right.
- P: Yes.
- A: The Nahnmwarrki should be satisfied and the commoner, too, should be satisfied.
- P: Satisfied.
- N: Yes, just a kind of even exchange.
- P: And the way it is being done so far is, so to speak, that if I have only one pig, or no pigs at all, then I.....
- N: Try hard to find one.
- P: try hard to find one.
- D: Yes. And.....
- A: And if I don't have any money, I'll still buy it on credit.
- P: Buy it on credit, yes, and I also, also will make myself a lot of hard work.
- N: Eh.

P: Eh.

A: Worries.

P: Yes.

A: Worries, that I'll have to think about, because I'm in debt and...

N: I'll also be ashamed in front of that person....

A: Yes.

N: that I don't have any pigs.

P: Ah.

N: That I don't have any things, I'll just buy them from him.

A: The Sowpeytis, if they don't plant these things themselves, are...

N: They won't want to do it themselves, either, because we think kindly of them.

A: Yes.

N: So they want...

A: Yes, true...

N: Well....

A: just to make it smaller.

N: Just to make it smaller and also to distribute it according to their liking, distribute it evenly.

A: Distribute it evenly, yes.

N: To the people.

A: Yes.

N: I think all the people will think it all right to give feasts to them and I think only the Rohsa (one of Nahnpey's titles) does it the way Ponape likes it.

P: There is....

N: is....is one who gives a feast to....

P: Ah. That's how a stone oven is being made.

N: Ah.

A: Then...

P: Only when there is an even distribution, there seems to be no loss.

N: Eh.

P: There are no unsatisfactory feasts.

N: Yes. Here's how a year came and we all gossiped a lot about feasting. Well, now, as compared to formerly, we don't like feasts too much. And since now the will of the people should be heeded, everybody makes his wishes clear.

A: Yes. Yes, but the feasts also are much gayer.

N: They are gay, yes, because I can just come and touch my one two-man yam.

A: Yes.

P: Yes. Now, I think, some people have stopped feasting because they think, what should I do to succeed.

A: Succeed.

N: Yes, that's it.

P: My family has been satisfied.

N: Been satisfied.

A: You know, the person who has found a business for himself...

D: Eh.

A: they have stopped just feasting.

D: Yes.

A: Because there is only their work for them. In this manner, if the number of those grows who think that way...

P: True.

A: the Ponapeans will soon...

N: Yes.

P: If all the people made an effort, so to speak, to seek, so to speak, the enlightenment from abroad....

N: Eh.

P: Maybe, when they who like feasting, when they will, so to speak, pass away...

N: It'll be only their ranks...

P: feasts will go.

A: Maybe one day it will be better.

N: That's it...

P: We will....

N: will be in on it.

P: Yes.